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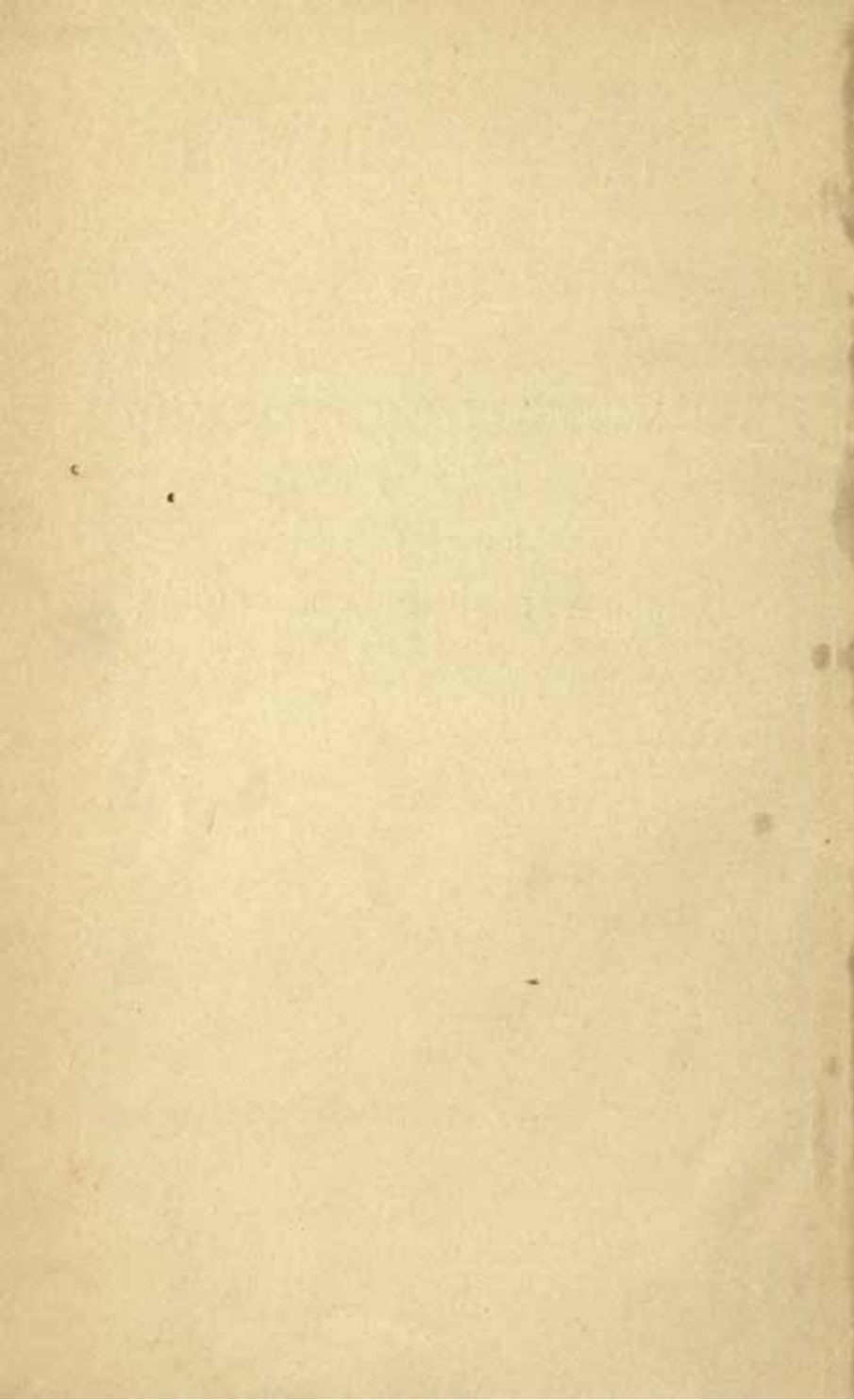
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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE
AND
JOURNAL OF
THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY



THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE
AND
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OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EDITED BY
GEORGE F. HILL, LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A.
KEEPER OF COINS, BRITISH MUSEUM

G. C. BROOKE, M.A., F.S.A.

AND

J. ALLAN, M.A., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.
DEPUTY-KEEPER OF COINS, BRITISH MUSEUM

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
(separately paged).

LIST OF FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
(separately paged).

I.

THE PORTRAIT MEDALS AND ZODIACAL COINS OF THE EMPEROR JAHĀNGĪR.

I. THE PORTRAIT MEDALS.

[SEE PLATE I.]

MUCH has been written on the famous zodiacal pieces of Jahāngīr, Mughal emperor of India, and son and successor of the emperor Akbar.¹ These coins early attracted the attention of European travellers, and I have no doubt that my list of literary references could be materially extended. I have endeavoured to incorporate in one account the material, historical, literary, and numismatic, to which I have had access. I have included the portrait medals. Mr. S. H. Hodi-
vala's recent researches into historical and literary sources, oriental and European, are indispensable to a correct view of these rare and curious pieces, and I am much indebted to his excellent and exhaustive essay.²

REFERENCES.

Mem. = Second Memoir of the Numismatic Society of India. Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics. By S. H. Hodi-
vala, M.A., Principal and Professor of History and Economics, Baha-ud-Din College, Junagadh, Kathiawar. Calcutta, 1923.

¹ Akbar reigned 963 to 1014 A.H., or A.D. 1556 to 1605; Jahāngīr 1014 to 1037 A.H., or A.D. 1605 to 1637. Akbar was approximately a contemporary of Elizabeth, and Jahāngīr of James I.

² Mem. Essay XI. The Portrait Muhrs of Jahāngīr.

V. S. = Dr. Vincent A. Smith. Akbar the Great Mogul. Oxford, 1917.

Tūzuk = Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī (Memoirs of Jahāngīr), translated and annotated by Rogers & Beveridge. London. Royal Asiatic Society, 1909.

B.M. Cat. = Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, The Moghul Emperors, 1892.

P.M. Cat. = Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore. Vol. II. Oxford, 1914.

I.M. Cat. = Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. H. Nelson Wright. Vol. II, 1907. Vol III. Oxford, 1908.

J.A.S.B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

A. H. = Hijrī Year. The Hijrī Era commences in the year A. D. 622, and the year is lunar.

R. Y. = Regnal year.

W. = weight in grains.

S. = size in inches.

A' = gold.

Months of the Ilāhī Year are:—

1. Farwardīn	7. Mihr
2. Ardībihisht	8. Ābān
3. Khūrdād	9. Āzar
4. Tīr	10. Dai
5. Amardād	11. Bahman
6. Shabrewar	12. Isfandārmuz

Certain considerations at once arise from the subject of the portrait medals and zodiacal coins of the emperor Jahāngīr. In view of the Prophet's denunciation of those guilty of making pictures of animated objects, how did a Muhammadan ruler come to strike pieces bearing his portrait? The zodiacal coins were scarcely less idolatrous in the eyes of a strict follower of the tenets of Islām. But Jahāngīr went even further. On some of the portrait medals he is shown with a wine-cup in his hand, a flagrant flouting of orthodox opinion. Again, if the sigus of the zodiac as depicted on the coins possess any significance, if they are something more than a decorative *motif*, it is natural to surmise that they indicate the months in which the

respective pieces were struck. But the Muhammadan year is lunar, not solar.

The explanation lies in the character and religious views of the emperor, and in the circumstances of the times. The Mughal emperors of India were Sunnīs, and as such should have conformed strictly to the *Sunna*, the "usage" of the Prophet, but a striking characteristic of the dynasty was the independence of thought displayed by many of its members, especially in their attitude towards religion and art. Jahāngīr, an aesthetic voluptuary, had inherited highly unorthodox views from his father Akbar.

Akbar was by nature a mystic. We are told that at one period of his life he spent whole nights in praising God; he had a passion for unlimited discussion of all things in heaven and earth. Gradually he became estranged from the faith of his youth, and directed his energies to the evolution of a new religion, a synthesis of warring creeds which he hoped would weld together the discordant elements of his empire. The new universal religion, the Dīn Ilahī or Divine Faith, was first proclaimed in 1582 A.D., towards the end of the twenty-sixth year of the reign, and the emperor himself was its prophet and spiritual guide. It combined the principal features of Hinduism and the fire-worship of the Parsees, with minor elements of other beliefs. The members of the third Jesuit Mission to Akbar's court at Lahore in 1595, reported that "the king has utterly banished Muhammad from his thoughts, is inclined towards Hinduism, worships God and the Sun, and poses as a prophet". In his latter days Akbar's devotions consisted largely of acts of reverence to the sun, fire, and light.

The promulgation of the new religion was followed by the establishment of a new era in the year 1584 A.D., 982 A.H., and twenty-ninth regnal year.³

Eras are often known by the names of their founders, but that of Akbar, like his creed, is called *Ilāhī*. The *Ilāhī* year was solar, a modification of the Persian year, and about eleven days longer than the *Hijrī* lunar year. Persian names were given to the months and days.⁴ This Solar Era counted from the Nauroz (New Year's Day), or day of the sun's entrance into Aries of the year of Akbar's accession—1556 A.D., 963 A.H. From the thirtieth to the fiftieth year of the reign the coins exhibit the *Ilāhī* Profession of Faith, in whole or in part, and the dates are expressed in *Ilāhī* years and months to the exclusion of the *Hijrī* year with its lunar computation.

The number of adherents of the so-called Divine Faith was never considerable, and the organization ceased to exist soon after the death of Akbar. The ceremony of initiation was performed by Akbar in person. The novice was admitted on a Sunday when "the world-illuminating sun was in its highest splendour". The emperor raised the prostrate suppliant, and gave him the *shast* (token) upon which was engraved "the Great Name", and His Majesty's symbolical motto, "Allāhu Akbar".⁵ Vincent Smith proceeds to say that the "Great Name" is one or other of the epithets or names of God, that commentators

³ We do not possess a scientifically accurate knowledge of the system—Mem., Essay II, The *Ilāhī* Era.

⁴ For the names of the *Ilāhī* months, see above.

⁵ V. S., p. 217. Allāhu Akbar is an ancient battle-cry of Islām, and forms part of the call to prayer.

differ concerning the one which is to be regarded as pre-eminent, and that it does not appear which was selected by Akbar. I suggest that it was معین (God) "the Defender". This is one of the ninety-nine names of God, and it comes into the name of Akbar's patron saint at Ajmer⁶; also this Great Name, and the motto Allāhu Akbar are found one on each side of certain very rare coins or medals of the emperor Akbar which I hope to describe in a separate paper.

Amongst the ordinances observed by members of the Order I have to mention one. "The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says Allāhu Akbar, and the other responds Jalla Jalāluhu." These words combine to form the Ilāhī Profession of Faith, "God is most great; glorious is His glory", which is derived from the emperor's name Jalālu-d-dīn Akbar.⁷ It has been strenuously denied by Akbar's apologists that the autocrat ever intended that the first half should be interpreted in the sense "Akbar is God". Mr. Hodivala has pointed out that the ambiguous signification of the phrase is not a modern discovery; the contemporary historian Badāonī tells us that it was once the subject of heated discussion in the emperor's own presence early in the reign. Mr. Hodivala's essay, "The Coin Legend Allāhu Akbar", is an able and forcible defence against the charge that Akbar laid claim to divinity.⁸ Vincent Smith is equally willing to admit that Akbar "never for one moment forgot God", but

⁶ Shaikh Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī.

⁷ Jalālu-d-dīn = Glory of the Faith. Akbar literally means "most great", and is a common epithet of God.

⁸ Mem., Essay V.

holds with good reason that the imperial despot had entirely abandoned the faith of Muhammad, and that his actions at times gave substantial grounds for the reproach that he was not unwilling to be regarded as a god upon earth. As regards the second half of the *Ilāhī* creed, Vincent Smith has a cautious note that it hints at an implied resemblance between Akbar and the sun.⁹

Akbar, "the great Mogul", died at Āgrah in October, 1605, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign and Era, and was succeeded by his son prince Salīm under the style and titles of Abū'l-Muẓaffar Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Pādishāh-i-*Ghāzī*.¹⁰ At the time of his accession Jahāngīr had attained the mature age of thirty-eight. The reasons for calling himself Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr are thus stated by the emperor himself in his Memoirs. "An inspiration from the hidden world brought it into my mind that inasmuch as the business of kings is the controlling of the world, I should give myself the name of Jahāngīr (World-seizer), and make my title of honour Nūru-d-dīn (Light of the Faith), since my sitting on the throne coincided with the rising and shining on the earth of the Great Light (the Sun)."¹¹

The Hijrī dates straightway reappeared on the coins, but the rival chronology was not discarded. "While reverting to the lunar reckoning for the

⁹ V. S., p. 218.

¹⁰ Father of the Victor, Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr, Emperor and Infidel-Slayer.

¹¹ *Tūzuk*, Vol. I. The lofty title Jahāngīr had been assumed by the last of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs—Sir Henry Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Part III, p. 116.

ordinary date of his coins", says Mr. S. Lane-Poole, "he still employed the solar year and Persian months in stating the year of his reign, though without any pretence of establishing a new Epoch."¹² That Jahāngīr was in two minds about establishing, or rather continuing a new Epoch, appears from evidence both documentary and numismatic. Early acts of the reign, as described in the diary of the first year, include an initiation of selected "disciples and sincere followers to each of whom it was necessary to give the 'token and the likeness'. At the time of initiation, some words of advice were given to the disciple: he must not confuse or darken his years with sectarian quarrels, but must follow the rule of Universal Peace with regard to religions . . . Honour the Luminaries (the Sun, Moon, &c.), which are manifestors of God's light, according to the degree of each, and recognize the power and existence of Almighty God at all times and seasons." It is the royal intention to establish an Order and a Rule closely resembling, if not the same as those of the preceding reign.¹³ The token, as will be shown later, like that presented by Akbar to his own disciples and sincere followers, bore Akbar's symbolical motto Allāhu Akbar. The numismatic evidence is contradictory. Mr. H. Nelson Wright's unique and unpublished half-mohur of Āgrah mint, date 1014, first regnal year, bearing Jahāngīr's birth-name Salīm, must be an accession piece; it shows that the emperor, at least in outward semblance, conformed straightway with the Faith of his forebears.

¹² B.M. Cat., p. lxiii.

¹³ Tūzuk, Vol. I, p. 60; Mem., p. 149.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
In circle of dots on flowered field	As on obverse
الله	غازح
لا اله الا	بادشاه
محمد	سليم
رسول الله	سلطان
ب	۱
ضرا آگره ۱۰۱۴	

A. Round. Wt. 100.4. S. .7.

On the obverse is the Kalima or Muslim Profession of Faith, "there is no god but God; Muḥammad is the Prophet of God", with the mint Āgrah, and the Hijrī year 1014. The reverse bears the name Salīm with the princely epithet Sultān, the imperial titles Pādīshāh and Ghāzī and the date year 'one'. There is a complete breakaway from Akbar's Ilāhī issues, not only in the legends and dating system, but also as regards the weight which is half that of the new heavy standard adopted at Jahāngīr's accession.¹⁴

But the Salīmī rupees and half-rupees of Aḥmadābād mint provide different testimony. Akbar died in the eighth solar month (Abān) of Ilāhī year 50, or the lunar month Jumādā II of A.H. 1014. Silver coins of a couplet type and of the weight standard of Akbar's Ilāhī rupees (c. 173 grains) were at once struck

¹⁴ The normal Akbarī standard for gold Ilāhī coins was 168 grs.; Jahāngīr's heavy coins in this metal weigh c. 210 grs. See J.A.S.B., 1894.

at Aḥmadābād bearing Jahāngīr's birth-name Salīm. P. M. Cat., Vol. II, p. 129; their dates are ¹⁵:—

<i>Month</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Year</i>
Ābān	50	Farwardīn	2
Āzar	50	Ardībihisht	2
Dai	50	<u>Khurdād</u>	2
Bahman	50	Tīr	2
Isfandārmuz	50		

As far as this couplet issue is concerned, Jahāngīr continued his father's new Epoch till the next solar New Year's Day (Nauroz), and then, coincident with the change of year, the Ilāhī Era was deserted once and for all, though the solar reckoning, and the Ilāhī months were still used together with the regnal year.¹⁶ But the Aḥmadābād mint was also producing Kalima rupees of Jahāngīr's first regnal year weighing some 210 grains, the heavy standard which signalized the commencement of the new reign.

To sum up, Jahāngīr abandoned Akbar's Ilāhī Era and Ilāhī Faith, but evidence exists that he dallied with the idea of continuing them. Throughout the reign he preserved the solar computation with use of the Ilāhī months; the coins are dated by the regnal year with or without the Hijri year. It may be of interest to state here that Jahāngīr's successor Shāh Jahān felt bound to take one step further in the direction of orthodoxy. "He would not permit the years of his reign to be reckoned in solar years at all, and ordered them to be recorded in terms of the

¹⁵ Please see References above for the names and order of the Ilāhī months.

¹⁶ See Dr. G. P. Taylor, *The Date of the Salīmī Coins*, J.A.S.B., 1908.

lunar computation. At first he allowed the names of the solar months to appear on the coinage with the usual affix *Ilāhī*, but even this concession was withdrawn in the seventh year, and all the mints of the Empire, except one, were forbidden to issue the type.¹⁷ Here *Shāh Jahān* was content to halt. The solar months would appear to have been still registered and the accounts kept in *Ilāhī* months for economy and convenience of audit in the Revenue Department. This emperor also continued throughout his long reign to celebrate the *Nauroz* with the customary pomp and magnificence."¹⁸ It was *Aurangzeb*, son and successor of *Shāh Jahān* who took the next and final step. He abolished the use of the solar months, and did all he could to remove the last vestiges of *Akbar's* anti-Muslim innovation.

Though *Jahāngīr* did not continue the *Ilāhī* Era, he was too easy-going to jettison heterodox ideas which inclined with his own opinions and pleasures. Addiction to drink and drugs gradually sapped his will-power and destroyed his constitution, and made him more subservient to *Nūr Jahān* in matters of state. His career is not free from startling acts of passion and cruelty. On the other hand, that he was artistic and a nature lover appears from every page of the *Memoirs*, in which the emperor's daily life is revealed with candour and frankness: this diary was kept from the first to the seventeenth year of the reign. In his portraits *Jahāngīr* stands out by the intellectuality of his face as a man of mark. The chiselled features of his prime are decidedly attractive.

¹⁷ This solitary mint was Tatta in Sind.

¹⁸ *Mem.*, p. 215.

The Mughal emperors employed their court painters to make pictorial records of current events. It was a school of miniature art, the pictures being usually on the scale of book illustrations, and bound up in albums. Portraiture was specially encouraged. Battle and siege pieces were frequent in Akbar's reign; Jahāngīr's times were more settled, and under him Mughal art attained its meridian. He was much in camp visiting historical places, hunting, revelling in the gardens he had built, enjoying the glorious scenery of the mountains. The emperor loved the beautiful valley of Kashmīr, and sojourned several summers there. The court artists were always at hand to depict royal pageants, buildings, landscapes, flowers, birds, trophies of the chase. The imperial diarist informs us that from the twelfth to the fiftieth year of his age, he had in the chase killed with his own hand 17,167 animals of which 3,203 were quadrupeds including 86 tigers. Jahāngīr was an enthusiastic and intelligent patron of art, connoisseur and assiduous collector of historical paintings and illuminated manuscripts. Embassies were instructed to include such objects among the treasures they brought back from foreign courts.

The emperor must have taken a personal interest in the coinage, and had a zest for effective novelties. The high-water mark of achievement may be placed in the fifth and sixth years of the reign, when during some months coins were minted at Āgrah and Lāhor, bearing different Persian couplets for each month.¹⁹

¹⁹ "To Agra and Lahor of Great Mogul," Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XI, line 391.

From the sixth to the thirteenth year, coins issued each month from the Agrah mint were alternately round and square. At the end of the thirteenth year began the famous zodiacal series.

Jahāngīr had inherited to some extent his father's love of religious discussion. "When in liquor, he was fond of arguing upon abstruse subjects, and religion was his favourite topic. He sometimes praised the Muhammadan faith, sometimes that of the Christians; he was now a follower of Zoroaster, and now of Brahmah. In the midst of these devout professions he would sometimes as starting from a dream exclaim, That the prophets of all nations were impostors, and that he himself, should his indolence permit him, could form a better system of religion than any they had imposed on the world. When he was sober, he was divested of every idea of religion, having been brought up a Deist under the tuition of his father Akbar."²⁰ Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador of James I to the Mughal court, who associated intimately with Jahāngīr as boon companion for three years (1616-18 A.D.), roundly declared him to be an atheist. The traveller Bernier informs us that "many affirm that Jehan-Guyre died as he had lived, destitute of all religion, and that he nourished to the last a scheme which he had formed, after the example of his father Ekbar, of declaring himself a prophet, and the founder of a new religion".

So it should not be a matter of surprise that Jahāngīr, following the example of his father, distributed medals which if not tokens of initiation into a new religion, were proofs that the wearer belonged to the

²⁰ Dow, *History of Hindostān*. London, 1772. Jehangire, p. 103.

inner circle of the court. I have already alluded to the "token and likeness" which figured in the ceremonial of Jahāngīr's first year. What was this "token and likeness"? I describe a unique gold portrait piece in the Cabinet of Mr. H. Nelson Wright.

I.

Obv.
Rev.

Bust of Akbar half-left. The emperor wears a tight-fitting turban; face clean-shaven but for a short moustache. No halo. Richly embroidered tunic with stiff collar. One hand rests on a ledge over which is folded a piece of brocade.

The sun in splendour.

To r. سنه ۱ جلوس "Regnal year 1".

To l. الله اكبر ۱۰۱۴ "Allāhu Akbar, 1014".

A. Round. S. 8. Wt. 168. [Pl. I. 1.]

This curious and interesting piece is dated A. H. 1014, first regnal year (of Jahāngīr), but does not bear Jahāngīr's name. Instead there is Akbar's symbolical motto *Allāhu Akbar*. The style of portraiture closely resembles that of the pieces of the sixth year. On closer inspection, the heavy features appear to be those of a man older than Jahāngīr was at his accession, thirty-eight, and the possibility is revealed of this coin being a commemorative piece struck by the son with the father's portrait. If so, no other example is known of the Mughal period.²¹ A summary of the case that the bust is that of Akbar, and not of Jahāngīr, follows.

The full and flabby features are those of an older

²¹ For an example of the Dehlī Sultans, see the coin of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, I.M. Cat., Vol. II, 300, 329.

man: this opinion is that of competent art critics to whom the question has been referred. The coin, though of Jahāngīr's first regnal year, bears Akbar's symbolical motto instead of Jahāngīr's name and titles, so the portrait, if not of Jahāngīr, must be that of Akbar. It is noteworthy that the head is without a halo or nimbus, the attribute of the reigning sovereign, and this fact is another indication that the portrait is not that of Jahāngīr.²² Jahāngīr's portrait is not found till the sixth year. There is no distinctive trait which makes it possible to state with certainty that the portrait is of one ruler as distinct from the other. Still the face is like that of Akbar in certain pictures of that monarch. For a portrait of Akbar see Pl. I. 9, and of Jahāngīr, Pl. I. 10 and 12.²³ We may here call attention to the statement of E. S. Holden, an American astronomer, that Jahāngīr caused a silver medal to be struck soon after his father's death which bears the effigy of Akbar on one side and the Kalima on the other.²⁴ This author does not give his authority,

²² The origin of the golden nimbus adorning the head of the Mughal sovereign is traced to the early Persians in the shape of a celestial aureole of fire. It occurs as a circular radiation on Kushān coins, and in the Graeco-Buddhist sculptures of Gandhāra. Christian art in the Middle Ages adopted the nimbus and utilized it to such an extent that it has been regarded by many as of purely Christian meaning and origin. The nimbus returned to India in the hands of the Portuguese Jesuit fathers; Jahāngīr, a thorough believer in the divinity of kings, took the symbol but not the creed. In Mughal painting it was reserved strictly for the ruling sovereign.—Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*. Oxford, 1924.

²³ For example, B.M. Oriental Room, Add. 22470. Fol. 4. Also B.M. Indian Paintings, 1920-9-17-045.

²⁴ E. S. Holden, *The Mughal Emperors of Hindustān*. London, 1895. P. 234.

but he may have had in mind the medal published by P. F. Bonneville in 1806, which appears to be a late fabrication of Lucknow manufacture.²⁵

Mr. Hodivala commits himself to the definite statement that Akbar introduced the practice of delivering to his so-called *Murīds* (disciples) a likeness of himself as the outward sign of his new Theistical Sect, and that it is permissible to conjecture that Mr. Nelson Wright's unique specimen of Jahāngīr's first year is a replica or reproduction of an Akbarī *shast*—Mem., pp. 150 ff. Mr. Hodivala gives four extracts relating to the Akbarī *shast* :—

P. 150. *Shast* of the New Religion (Badāonī).

P. 151. *Shabihī*

P. 152. *Shast* (Abū'l-Faẓl's *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*).

P. 152. „ (Abū'l-Faẓl's *Akbarnāmāh*).

Only one of the four quotations speaks of the badge as a likeness; this cannot be called a "consensus of Badāonī and Abū'l-Faẓl" (p. 152). Abū'l-Faẓl, the primary authority for Akbar's reign and the instigator of the New Religion, tells us precisely the contents of the token; on it "is engraved the Great Name and His Majesty's symbolical motto *Allāhu Akbar*" (p. 152). There is no mention of a portrait. Now one or two gold pieces do actually exist which contain the Great Name on one side, and the symbolical motto on the other. Though the adherents of the New Religion were a comparatively small body, still they must have numbered a few thousand. Badāonī says, "So many holy souls rushed upon this trial that they cannot be numbered. And sets of twelve persons by turns, and

²⁵ P. F. Bonneville, *Traité des Monnaies d'Or et d'Argent*. Paris, 1806. P. 222.

in exactly the same way, became disciples and conformed to the same creed and religion. And instead of the tree-of-discipleship, he gave them a likeness (*Shabihī*)," p. 151. Yet not a single authentic portrait piece struck by Akbar has been found; pieces are known, however, bearing figures of Rāma and Sītā, a hawk, and a goose. On the other hand we have many examples of Jahāngīr. In these circumstances I prefer to remain sceptical. In my opinion the weight of existing evidence indicates that Akbar's badge was a *shast* without a portrait, and Jahāngīr's was the *shast wa shabih*, a medal which was at one and the same time a token and a likeness, that is, a token bearing a portrait.

Writing of Jahāngīr's sixth year, the historian Khāfi Khān says:—

"In this year (the sixth of the reign), he (the emperor) gave orders that a piece of gold weighing one tola,²⁶ stamped on one side with the image of the Pādishāh, and displaying on the other the figure of a lion surmounted by a sun should be given to the favourite Amīrs or most devoted servants, and that they were to wear it respectfully on the sash of the turban or on the breast-front as a life-preserving amulet."

Again, in his Chronicle of the twenty-first year:—

"The rule or practice had been formerly established of presenting to the specially favoured Amīrs a round piece of gold weighing one tola, stamped (on one side) with the image of the Pādishāh, and impressed on the other with the figure of a lion on which the sun was

²⁶ The weight of the ordinary gold piece.

mounted, so that they might bind it on their turbans... Others threw it round their necks and wore it as a life-preserving amulet on the breast-front.²⁷ In this year (R. Y. 21) the emperor gave orders that the portrait-piece should be made larger and (of the weight) of five tolas of gold, and that it should be given to the specially-favoured Amīrs."

These extracts contain a correct description of the appearance and purpose of the portrait pieces. Like that of Jahāngīr's first year they were not coins at all, but medals or badges presented to his confidential followers by the emperor, to be fastened in the head-dress or suspended on the breast much as decorations are worn to-day.

Mr. Hodivala cites the testimony of two European contemporaries.²⁸

Sir Thomas Roe recorded in his journal on Aug. 17, 1616:—

"I went to visit the King, who as soone as I came in, called to his woemen and reached out a picture of himselfe set in gould hanging at a wire gould chaine . . . Hee (Asaph Chan) came to mee, and I offered to take it in my hand; but hee made signe to putt of my hatt, and then put it about my neck leading me right before the King . . . This guift was not woorth in all 30 li, yet it was five tymes as good as any hee gives in that kynd, and held for an especiall favour, for that all the great men that weare the king's Image (which none may doe but to whom it

²⁷ The Persian phrase "life-preserving amulet" means exactly the same as the word phylactery. I am indebted to Mr. Hodivala for these extracts from *Khāfi Khān*.

²⁸ *Mem.*, pp. 153 f.

is given) receive noe other than a medall of gould as bigg as sixpence, with a little chayne of four inches to fasten it on their heads."

Austin de Bordeaux wrote from Lahor on the 20th of July, 1619:—

"I have been in this country eight years. All the Frenchmen I had brought with me died in the first year, and thereafter I took service with this king, the Great Mogul... It is impossible to realize the magnificent character of this king... He has given me two elephants and two horses, a house valued at eight thousand livres, and his likeness in gold to put on my hat, which is a mark of honour corresponding to the Order of the Holy Spirit in France."

II.

Obverse.

In dotted circle, bust of Jahāngir to left, nimbate, wearing turban with egret and chaplet of pearls; pearl hanging from ear. Side whiskers, long moustache, clean-shaven chin. Richly brocaded tunic with high stiff collar. Necklace of pearls with pendent jewel: double rope of pearls hanging to waist. One hand resting on cushion on window-frame; other hand not showing.

To r. سنه ۶ جلوس "Regnal year 6".

To l. شبيه جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه "Likeness of Jahāngir Shah, (son of) Akbar Shah".

Reverse.

Contained as *obv.*, lion to l. with sun rising behind it.

Below سنه ۱۰۲۰ هجری "Hijri year 1020".

A. Round. S. .9. Wt. 168. [Pl. I. 2.]

III. Similar to II, but lion to r.

A. Round. S. .9. Wt. 168. [Pl. I. 3.]

IV. This coin resembles III. One hand rests on window-frame; the other is visible holding fruit.

N. Round. S. .85. Wt. 168. [Pl. I. 4.]

V. Resembling III; one hand rests on window-frame, the other holds up an engraved cup. The date on the obverse is given in words instead of figures, thus:

سنه شش جلوس "Regnal year six".

N. Round. S. .85. Wt. 169. [Pl. I. 5.]

Coins II, III, IV and V comprise all known types of the portrait piece of regnal year 6, Hijrī year 1020, and are described and illustrated in B.M. Cat., 312 to 316; they are equivalent in weight to the normal gold currency. Coins Nos. 312 and 313 were in the Marsden Cabinet, and were catalogued in his *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata*, part II, London, 1825. Of them, he says, "that they and others of the same description could not have been intended for general circulation is evident; for independently of the prevailing religious scruples on the subject of images, as savouring of idolatry, the public morals were not so far depraved as to tolerate the licentious exhibition of a sovereign in the act of lifting to his head a cup of liquor; which would be esteemed indecorous even in a country where the use of wine was not forbidden." *Op. cit.*, p. 603.

It was Marsden (*Num. Or.* p. 604) who suggested that the sun and lion were probably an imitation of the celebrated dirhems of a Seljuk Sultan of Iconium. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's theory was that the sun's image appears in virtue of the tendency towards solar worship, and that the choice of the zodiacal sign Leo may be connected with the month of the emperor's

birth. But Mr. Hodivala has shown that the lion and sun are an imperial device which figures on the royal standard, and that this coat of arms is at least as old as the days of Timūr (Mem., pp. 164, 165). This is undoubtedly the correct reason for the appearance of the lion and sun on the portrait medals. (Cf. Pl. I. 11,



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

for a similar standard borne by a rider on an elephant in a procession at the court of Jahāngīr.)

One hand of the emperor has usually been described as resting on a book. Mr. S. Lane-Poole wrote, "if, as is probable, the book is intended for the Koran, its combination with a wine cup must have been regarded by orthodox Muslims as an outrage" (B.M.Cat., p. lxxx). For Mr. Hodivala the book is not the Koran, but some such collection of Anacreontic verse as the *Diwan* of Hafiz, Mem., p. 160. But Mr. John Allan, who has compared the design with the pictures of the period, has suggested an emendation, which I fully accept. The emperor is sitting at the *gharokhā* or casement for the adoration of his subjects, as was his actual daily custom, and his hand is resting on the ledge over which is thrown a cushion or embroidered cloth (fig. 2). This custom was known as *darshan*, a Sanskrit

word meaning the sight of some one high or holy, and is described by Mr. Jadunath Sarkar in *The Daily Life of Shah Jahan—Studies in Mughal India*, London, 1920. The great Kushān conqueror Vima Kadphises appears at a window in just this attitude with one hand resting on the ledge (fig. 1). (*J.A.S.B.*, 1911, Pl. X.)

In Jahāngīr's seventh year appeared a quarter portrait piece.

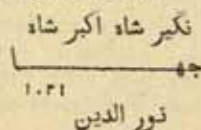
VI.

Obverse.

The emperor, nimbate, seated cross-legged against embroidered cushion, on low throne; head to l., and goblet in raised r. hand, l. hand held in front of body. The emperor wears a necklace and long rope of pearls.

Reverse.

Within foliated octagonal border



"Nuru-d-din Jahāngīr Shāh, (son of) Akbar Shāh."
Date 1021, 7.

A. Round. S. 45. Wt. 42. [Pl. I. 7.]

This piece is described and illustrated as No. 317 in the B.M. Cat. All the above portrait medals are mintless.

Jahāngīr left his capital Āgrah on Shahrewar 24, R. Y. 8 (autumn of 1613 A. D.), and established his court and camp at Ajmer, in Rajputana which he entered on Ābān 26, of the same regnal year. Ajmer was convenient for the imperial head-quarters during the campaign in Mewar. The Rana of Mewar (Udaipūr) surrendered on Bahman 26 of year 8, but Jahāngīr

found the place so congenial that he remained there three years, and it was not till the closing part of the year 1616 A.D., that the emperor and prince Khurram (afterwards Shāh Jahān) moved on to grapple with the Deccan problem. It was at Ajmer that Jahāngīr received Sir Thomas Roe, and the imperial camp at Ajmer is described by Terry, chaplain to the embassy. Roe accompanied the court in November, 1616, from Ajmer to Mandū, capital of Malwa, where the emperor halted to support the operations of Khurram against the Deccan.

A portrait medal of normal size was struck at Ajmer in regnal year 8; A.H. 1023.

VII.

Obverse.

In small circle the emperor, nimbate, seated cross-legged on throne, head to l.; goblet in raised r. hand; l. hand resting on l. leg. Necklace with pendant, and long rope of pearls. Circular margin filled with Persian couplet:

بروی سکه زر داد چندین زینت و زیور
شبه شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

Gave to coin's face so much grace and gem-like brilliance,
The portrait of Shāh Nuru-d-dīn Jahāngīr, son of Shāh Akbar.

Below the word سکه is the figure ۸ (8).

Reverse.

In small circle lion to r., and sun. Below ۱۰۲۳ (A.H. 1023).

Circular margin contains a second Persian couplet:

زد بزردين سكه در اجمير شاه اين پناه
 شاه نور الدين جهانگير ابن اكبر بادشاہ

Struck on gold this coin in Ajmer, the King and
 Asylum of the Faith,
Shāh Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr, son of the emperor Akbar.

N. Round. S. 75. Wt. 169. [Pl. I 8.]

Cp. B.M. Cat., 318.

This piece contains two complete couplets.

In the diary of month Abān, year 8, there is an entry to this effect. A man represented to the emperor that the numerical value of the letters of the name Jahāngīr as calculated by the science of the Abjad, was the same as that of the Great Name, Allāhu Akbar.²⁵ Considering this a good omen, the emperor gave the lucky discoverer "land, a horse, cash, and clothing". In Amardād (fifth month) of year 9, while the royal camp was still at Ajmer, Jahāngīr as the result of a passing indisposition paid a ceremonial visit to the mausoleum of Khwāja Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī, the well-known Muslim saint to whom his father had addressed his prayers, and to whose intercession was ascribed the birth of Jahāngīr. It occurred to the emperor that on his complete recovery, he would openly make holes in his ears and become enrolled amongst the ear-bored slaves of the holy man. On the 12th Shahrewar (sixth month), corresponding to the month of Rajab (seventh lunar month), A.H. 1023, Jahāngīr made holes in his ears, and "drew into each a shining pearl". Ear-rings were a badge of slavery, and by this act the emperor indicated that he

²⁵ For Abjad, see *A Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, D. Codrington. London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1904. Page 115.

who was brought into being by the merit of the saint, could do no less than become his follower. All the courtiers also wore large pearls in their ears. It is reasonable to suppose that these events led to the striking of the very interesting Ajmer portrait medal of date 1023, 9.

VIII.

Obverse.

Portrait of the emperor as on VII seated cross-legged on a low portable throne; the l. leg is placed over the r., and the l. hand rests on the l. leg. In the raised r. hand is a goblet.

To r. قضا بر سکه زر کرد تصویر

To l. شبیه حضرت شاه جهانگیر

Fate pictured on coin of gold

The likeness of His Majesty, Shah Jahāngir.

Reverse.

Sun in his splendour.

Above حروف جهانگیر و الله اکبر

Below ز روز ازل در عدد شد برابر

The letters of Jahāngir and Allāhu Akbar

From first to last day are always equivalent (in value).

To r. "O Defender; year 9" سنه ۹ یا معین

To l. "Struck at Ajmer; 1023" ضرب اجمیر ۱۰۲۳

A. Round. S. .S. Wt. 168. [Pl. I. 6.]

Cp. B.M. Cat., 319.

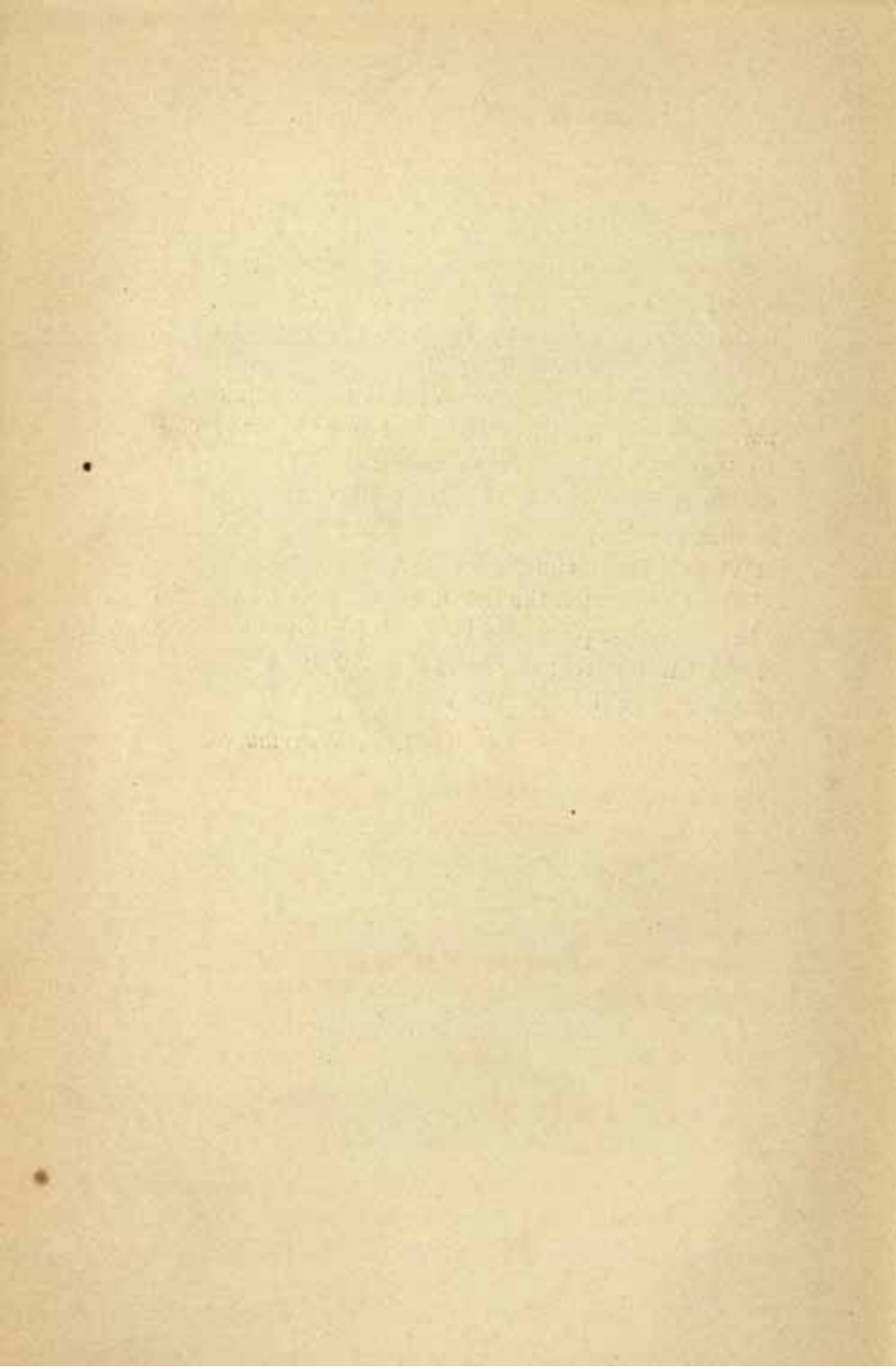
This piece is the well-known Bacchanalian coin of Ajmer mint. Like VII it contains two complete Persian couplets. The second embodies a conceit based on the mystical properties of numbers; reckoning by the Abjad, the word جهانگیر and the phrase

يا معين الله اكبر are each equal to 289. The invocation
 "O Defender", brings in once more the Great Name
 used on Akbar's Ilāhī medal, and Akbar's symbolical
 motto makes its reappearance. The recurrence of the
 Name معين is appropriate in Ajmer, the city of
 Akbar's patron saint and Jahāngīr's spiritual master,
 the saint Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī.

The Bacchanalian mohur VIII is not so rare as the
 portrait pieces, and will be found in most good col-
 lections. All known types except I are represented in
 the British Museum. The fine Guthrie Collection at
 Berlin contains several specimens. I have seen others
 at Vienna, Paris, and New York.

I have exhausted the list of known portrait medals.
 The five-mohur piece said by Khāfī Khān to have been
 struck in the regnal year 21 would be a splendid
 trophy ; it awaits discovery.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.



II.

TABLES OF BULLION COINED

FROM 1377 TO 1550.

THE following tables have been drawn up in continuation of those published by Mr. C. G. Crump and Mr. C. Johnson in *Num. Chron.*, 1913, pp. 200 ff. They show the amounts of (I) Silver and (II) Gold coined from the reign of Richard II to that of Edward VI; of the latter reign no accounts have been found later than the fourth year of the reign. It is unfortunate that there seem to be no accounts available for the mint at Calais.

Miss Ethel Stokes has very kindly undertaken the work on behalf of the Montagu Research Fund. From 1485, when calendars of Foreign Rolls fail, the work became particularly arduous and necessitated searches through the rolls themselves; in the reign of Henry VIII the increased number of officials rendering accounts made the subject even more involved. Many rolls were examined the contents of which could only be incorporated by using them all at once.

G. C. B.

TABLE I.—SILVER.
LONDON.

<i>Reference.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Warden.</i>	<i>Amount Coined.</i>	<i>Min- age.</i>	<i>Seigntor- age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Exchr. L.T.R. For. Acc. 18, E	20 Sept. 1377 to 29 Sept. 1384	John Gurmon- chester	£ 7,078 17 10	d. 8	d. 7	
do. 21, A	29 Sept. 1384 to 29 Sept. 1387	"	2,617 18 6	"	"	
[Gap in time ac- counted for.]						
do. 23, D	19 Jan. 1388 to 29 Sept. 1389	Guy Rouellif	283 10 5½	"	"	
do. 24, D	29 Sept. 1389 to 29 Sept. 1390	"	1,794 15 0	"	"	
do. 25, F	29 Sept. 1390 to 29 Sept. 1391	"	2,188 10 0	"	"	
do. 26, D	29 Sept. 1391 to 9 Dec. 1392	Guy Rouellif and his executors	328 3 4	"	"	
do. 28, E	9 Dec. 1392 to 29 Sept. 1393	Andrew Neu- port	177 17 2	"	"	
do. 29, E	29 Sept. 1393 to 29 Sept. 1395	"	294 9 4	"	"	

do. 30, C	29 Sept. 1395 to 29 Sept. 1396	"	169	7	9	"	"	"
do. 32, B	29 Sept. 1396 to 29 Sept. 1398	"	1,174	19	6	"	"	"
do. 35, F	29 Sept. 1398 to 15 Oct. 1399	"	1,145	11	4	"	"	"

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Bullion Purchased.	Total Deduct- tion.	Mint- age.	Seignior- age.*	Remarks.
1 F. 3 Hen. IV, f	15 Oct. 1399 to 29 Sept. 1402	Rob. Hethcote, esq.	li. 6s. 6d. 687 5 6		7d. (tale)	1d.	1 F. = Foreign Roll. Note. In each account of receipts from silver, there is an item of 5s. in the £1 'de incremento' upon the 8d. in the li. of combined mintage and seigniorage.
F. 4 Hen. IV, b	Mich. 1402 to Mich. 1403	"	129 2 11½		7d.	"	
F. 6 Hen. IV, a	Mich. 1403 to 24 Jan. 1404	Exors. of do.	185 5 7½		"	"	
F. 6 Hen. IV, d	24 Jan. 1404 to Mich. 1405 (Mich. 1404 to Mich. 1405)	Lewis Recouche (Jan. to Mich. 1404) 69 11 8	176 4 2 69 11 8		"	"	
F. 7 Hen. IV, d	Mich. 1405 to Mich. 1406	"	81 2 6		"	"	

* (i.e. profit less mintage.)

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Bullion Purchased.	Total Deduction.	Min- or- apt.	Seignior- apt.	Remarks.
F. 8 Hen. IV, d	Mich. 1406 to Mich. 1407	Lewis Recouche	li. oz. d. 63 14 7		7d.	1d.	
F. 9 Hen. IV, b	Mich. 1407 to Mich. 1408	"	6 8 4		"	"	
F. 1 Hen. V, a	29 Nov. 1411 to 29 Nov. 1412	Henry Somer	1,940 12 11		7d.	1d.	2 Before which time Lewis Recouche, late Keeper, is to account.
<i>Ibid.</i>	29 Nov. 1412 to Mich. 1413	"	3,642 5 0		"	"	
F. 6 Hen. V, a	Mich. 1413 to Mich. 1417	"	18,712 16 8		9d. [7d.9]	"	Also 127 silver halfpennies called 'Galley halpenny', weighing altogether 1½ oz. delivered by the sheriff of London to the King's Exchequer as forfeit to the King and given to the Keeper to coin into money, and coined, no mintage being charged thereon.
F. 6 Hen. V, d	Mich. 1417 to 31 Mar. 1419	"	2,105 0 0				
F. 9 Hen. V, f	31 Mar. 1419 to Mich. 1420 (31 Mar. 1419 to 31 Aug. 1420) (31 Aug. to 30 Sept. 1420)	"	1,267 18 4 212 5 0		9d.	3d.	
F. 1 Hen. V, c	Mich. 1420 to 31 Mar. 1422	"	2,217 6 9½		"	"	

There are neither original, nor enrolled, accounts from Mich. 1408, till :—

F. 2 Hen. VI, D	30 Mar. 10 Hen. V to Mich. 3 Hen. VI	Henry Somer	6,924	0	10	1/-	9d.	3d.	(See Remarks on Gold sheet, p. 51, below.)
F. 3 Hen. VI, A	Mich. 3 Hen. VI to Mich. 4 Hen. VI	"	1,612	4	7	"	"	"	
F. 4 Hen. VI, G	Mich. 4 Hen. VI to Easter (20 Ap.) 5 Hen. VI	"	2,702	9	5	"	"	"	
F. 5 Hen. VI, A	20 Apr. 5 Hen. VI to Mich. 6 Hen. VI	"	598	8	15	"	"	"	
F. 6 Hen. VI, C	Mich. 6 Hen. VI to Mich. 7 Hen. VI	"	1,163	8	5	"	"	"	
F. 9 Hen. VI, H	Mich. 7 Hen. VI to 31 Mar. 8 Hen. VI	"	2,894	9	17½	"	"	"	
"	31 Mar. 8 Hen. VI to Mich. 10 Hen. VI	"	2,814	9½	0	"	"	"	
F. 12 Hen. VI, B	Mich. 10 Hen. VI to Mich. 12 Hen. VI	"	2,328	5	2½	"	"	"	
"	Mich. 12 Hen. VI to 26 June 12 Hen. VI	"	425	11½	0	"	"	"	
"	26 June 12 Hen. VI to Mich. 13 Hen. VI	"	144	0	7½	"	"	"	
"	Mich. 13 Hen. VI to 24 June 13 Hen. VI	"	523	10½	2½	"	"	"	
F. 14 Hen. VI, B	24 June 13 Hen. VI to Mich. 15 Hen. VI	"	364	2½	2½	"	"	"	
F. 15 Hen. VI, F	Mich. 15 Hen. VI to Mich. 16 Hen. VI	"	547	0½	0	"	"	"	

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Bullion Purchased.	Total Deduct- tion.	Mont- oya.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
F. 17 Hen. VI, D	Mich. 16 Hen. VI to Mich. 17 Hen. VI	Henry Somer	li. 1,477 7½ 0	1/-	9d.	3d.	
F. 19 Hen. VI, A	Mich. 17 Hen. VI to 18 Dec. 18 Hen. VI	"	4,288 9 15	"	"	"	
F. 20 Hen. VI, C	18 Dec. 18 Hen. VI to Easter (16 Ap.) 19 Hen. VI	Master John Somerseth	2,751 3½ 0	"	"	"	
F. 21 Hen. VI, E	16 Apr. 19 Hen. VI to Mich. 22 Hen. VI	"	529 0 7½	"	"	"	
F. 22 Hen. VI, I	Mich. 22 Hen. VI to Mich. 23 Hen. VI	"	155 8 15	"	"	"	
F. 24 Hen. VI, A	Mich. 23 Hen. VI to Mich. 24 Hen. VI	"	207 3 0	"	"	"	
F. 25 Hen. VI, F	Mich. 24 Hen. VI to St. John Bap. 25 H. VI	"	(Mich. to 13 Dec.) 41½ 3½ 0 (13 Dec. to 24 June) 653 4 0	"	"	"	
Exchr. K.R. A/os. 294/5	St. John Bap. 25 H. VI to St. John Bap. 26 H. VI	John Lematon (altered to: exōrs. of John L.)	1,872 0 10½	1/4	9d.	" 7d.	(halfpence)
"	St. John Bap. 26 H. VI to 11 Oct. 28 Hen. VI	said exōrs.	88 7 5				
F. 29 Hen. VI, D	11 Oct. 28 Hen. VI to Mich. 29 Hen. VI	Thomas Mon- gomery	701 3½ 5 4,635 2 5	1/-	9d.	3d.	

F. 31 Hen. VI, B	Mich. 29 Hen. VI to Easter (9 Ap.) 30 H. VI	"	10,789½ 1 15	"	"	"	"
" D	9 Apr. 30 Hen. VI to Easter (1 Ap.) 31 H. VI	"	4,089 8 16	"	"	"	"
F. 32 Hen. VI, C	1 Apr. 31 Hen. VI to Easter (21 Ap.) 32 H. VI	"	3,605 5 5	"	"	"	"
F. 36 Hen. VI, N	21 Apr. 32 Hen. VI to Easter (28 Mar.) 34 H. VI	"	5,469 10 0	"	"	"	"
F. 37 Hen. VI, B	28 Mar. 34 Hen. VI to Mich. 36 Hen. VI	"	6,662½ 1½ 0	"	"	"	"
"	Mich. 36 Hen. VI to Mich. 37 Hen. VI	"	3,660 8 0	"	"	"	"
F. 1 Edw. IV, O	Mich. 37 Hen. VI to Mich. 38 Hen. VI	"	3,103 2 0	"	"	"	"
"	Mich. 38 Hen. VI to Mich. 39 Hen. VI	" and John Hende	7,042 7 0	"	"	"	"
F. 4 Edw. IV, D	15 Sept. 2 Edw. IV to 1 Sept. 4 Edw. IV	Sir Thomas Mongomery	11,885 0 0	"	"	"	"
F. 8 Edw. IV, P	1 Sept. 4 Edw. IV to Mich. 6 Edw. IV	"	55,334 10 5	4/6	1/2	3/4	"
(gap)							

(As to dates, see the Gold
table, p. 55, below.)

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Bullion Purchased.		Total Deduction.	Mintage.	Seigniorage.	Remarks.
F. 16 Edw. IV, A	26 Oct. 8 Edw. IV to Mich. 15 Edw. IV	John Wode, esq. (26 Oct. 8 Edw. IV to 28 Sept. 9 Edw. IV)	£.	s. d.	2/8	1/2	1/6	(See notes in Gold table, p. 56, below.)
		(29 Sept. 9 Edw. IV to 8,065 6 0 30 Sept. 10 Edw. IV) (London) 1,312 6 0 (York) 1,041 3 0 (Bristol)			"	"	"	
		(see note as to 'usurpation'—in Gold table, p. 56, below)						
		(14 Apr. 11 Edw. IV to 36,278 9 0 Mich. 15 Edw. IV) (London) 242 8 0 (York)			1/6	1/-	[? 6d.]	
		(14 Apr. 11 Edw. IV to 903 3 0 23 July 13 Edw. IV) (Bristol)			"	"	6d.	
F. 15 Edw. IV, D	Mich. 15 Edw. IV to 6 May 16 Edw. IV	John Wode and Thos. Bowes, his attorney	1,923	4 0	"	"	"	
F. 17 Edw. IV, A	6 May 16 Edw. IV to Mich. 17 Edw. IV	John Wode, esq., and Thomas Bowes	2,705	8 0	"	"	"	(No coinage elsewhere than in London).
			1,506	1 0 (new indre.)	"	"	"	
"	Mich. 17 Edw. IV to Mich. 18 Edw. IV	"	2,092	10 0	"	"	"	"

F. 19 Edw. IV, A	Mich. 18 Edw. IV to 14 Sept. 19 Edw. IV	John Wode, and exors. of Thos. Bowes	2,715 7 0	"	"	"	"	"	(No coinage elsewhere.)
F. 20 Edw. IV, A	14 Sept. 19 Edw. IV to Mich. 20 Edw. IV	John Wode, esq.	1,950 6 0	"	"	"	"	"	"
" E	Mich. 20 Edw. IV, to Mich. 21 Edw. IV	"	975 11½ 0	"	"	"	"	"	"
F. 22 Edw. IV, D	Mich. 21 Edw. IV to Mich. 22 Edw. IV	"	1,711 2 0	"	"	"	"	"	(No other coinage.)
F. 1 Ric. III, C	Mich. 22 Edw. IV to Mich. 1 Ric. III	" (Mich. to Xmas) (Feb. to Apr.) (May and June) (July to Sept.)	14 2 0 573 6 0 434 3 0 2,082 0 0	"	"	"	"	"	} (No coinage elsewhere.)
Exchr. K. R. A/es, 295/2	Mich. 1 Ric. III to Mich. 2 Ric. III	"	7,107 7 0	"	"	"	"	"	
F. 2 Ric. III, B	30 Sept. 2 Ric. III to 25 Sept. 1 Hen. VII	" (30 Sept. to 22 Aug.)	2,475 6 0	"	"	"	"	"	
Exchr. K. R. A/es, 298/3 m. 1	7 Oct. 1 Hen. VII to Mich. 2 Hen. VII	" (25 Sept. to 2 Nov.) 2 to 30 Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb. Mar. Apr. May June July Aug. Sept.	nil 983 0 0 266 3 0 201 0 0 235 2 0 244 0 0 311 2 0 374 8 0 316 8 0 545 6 0 495 7 0 180 0 0	"	"	"	"	"	

(and see * p. 37)

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Bullion Purchased.	Total Deduction.	Mini- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
Exchr. K. R. A/c's. 298/33 m. 2	Mich. 2 Hen. VII to Mich. 3 Hen. VII (and see ** below)	John Wode, esq. Oct. Nov. Dec. (to 23rd) 26 Dec. to 31 Mar. Apr. (to 14th) 15 Apr. to 3 May 4-31 May 1-24 June 24 June to 31 July Aug. Sept.	li. oz. d. 164 5 0 65 5 0 136 2 0 419 11 0 182 5 0 nil 197 8 0 95 6 0 280 3 0 245 6 0 142 11 0				
" m. 3	Mich. 3 Hen. VII to Mich. 4 Hen. VII (and see + below)	William Stafford Oct. Nov. 1-24 Dec. 25 Dec. to 31 Jan. Feb. Mar. Apr. May June July Aug. Sept.	123 0 0 160 3 0 111 0 0 nil 634 9 0 272 7 0 451 7½ 0 nil 185 2 0 360 9 0 190 9 0 161 11 0				
" 295/10	Mich. 4 Hen. VII to Mich. 5 Hen. VII (and see + below)	William Stafford, esq. Nov. to Feb. Mar. to Sept.	723 2 0 2,000 10½ 0			1/6 1/- 1	(Baffling jottings in the margin as to seigniorage, &c.) 1 To be paid later at 1/6.

F. (1-24 H. VII, 1 Hen. VII, A	(as Exchr. K. R. A/c/a, 298/33 above)	"	4,103 0 0	1/6	1/-	(No other coinage else- where.)
* 2 H. VII, A	25 Sept. 1 Hen. VII to Mich. 2 Hen. VII	"	1,900 2 0	"		"
** 2 Hen. VII, B	Mich. 2 Hen. VII to Mich. 3 Hen. VII	"				"
+ 6 Hen. VII, E	Mich. 3 Hen. VII to Mich. 5 Hen. VII	"	2,651 9½ 0 723 2 0 2,000 10½ 0	" 1/- ²	1/-	" Under Privy Seal, as in Gold table, and he charges himself on a/c. with the other 6d.
12 Hen. VII, B	(Here a gap, see Gold table, p. 61, below) 14 Oct. 10 Hen. VII to Mich. 14 Hen. VII	"	19,447 1½ 0	1/-	10d.	
15 Hen. VII, A	Mich. 14 Hen. VII to Mich. 16 Hen. VII,	"	23,953 4 0	"	"	
16 Hen. VII, B	Mich. 16 Hen. VII to Mich. 18 Hen. VII	"	20,971 5½ 0	"	"	
18 Hen. VII, B	Mich. 18 Hen. VII to Mich. 19 Hen. VII	"	7,773 5 0	"	"	
"	Mich. 19 Hen. VII to Mich. 20 Hen. VII	"	13,811 6½ 0	"	"	
19 Hen. VII, A	Mich. 20 Hen. VII to Mich. 21 Hen. VII	"	24,079 0 0	"	"	
20 Hen. VII, A	Mich. 21 Hen. VII to Mich. 22 Hen. VII	" (Mich. to 1 Nov.) (1 Dec. to Mich.)	996 0 0 19,545 0 0	" "	" "	" "

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Bullion Purchased.			Total Deduction.	Mint- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
F. (1-24 H. VII) 22 Hen. VII, A	Mich. 22 Hen. VII to Mich. 23 Hen. VII	William Stafford, esq.	li.	oz.	d.	1/-	10d.		
"	Mich. 23 Hen. VII to Mich. 24 Hen. VII	"	12,793	2	0	"	"		
24 Hen. VII, A	Mich. 24 Hen. VII to Mich. 1 Hen. VIII	(Mich. to 1 Sept.)	4,599	9	0	"	"		
"	Mich. 1 Hen. VIII to Mich. 3 Hen. VIII	"	329	2	0	"	"		
			2,313	11½	0	"	"		
F. Hen. VIII-Eliz. 3 Hen. VIII, A	Mich. 3 Hen. VIII to Mich. 4 Hen. VIII	"	5,537	10½	0	"	"		
"	Mich. 4 Hen. VIII to Mich. 5 Hen. VIII	"	7,233	8	0	"	"		
4 Hen. VIII, A	Mich. 5 Hen. VIII to Mich. 6 Hen. VIII	"	2,381	0	0	"	"		
Exchr. K. R. A/c. 296/7	Mich. 6 Hen. VIII to Mich. 7 Hen. VIII	"	546	3½	0	"	"		
do. 296/8	Mich. 7 Hen. VIII to Mich. 8 Hen. VIII	"	96	4½	0	"	"		

In *Eng. Hist. Review*, xxxii, p. 270, this figure is given in two parts as 1,761 and 612 lbs., totaling 2,373. A further search has not revealed the source of the separate entries, so the slight discrepancy remains unexplained.

do. 298/34	Mich. 9 Hen. VIII to Mich. 10 Hen. VIII	—	Oct. Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb. Mar. Apr. May. June. July. Aug. Sept.	18 2 0 nil 12½ 0 0 nil 40 10½ 0 154 6 2 33 6½ 6 nil 148 0 0 66 0 0 nil nil	1/-	10d.	2d.	1 xxxliij lb. viij. oz. iij q ^{rt} . di iij d. (Nov., Dec., Feb., and Mar., the only months when silver was coined).
do. 298/35	Mich. 10 Hen. VIII to Mich. 11 Hen. VIII	—	Oct. Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb. Mar. Apr. May June July Aug. Sept.	140 1 0 196 2 3 87 10 0 14 4½ 1 15 3 2 209 9 3½ 592 6 1½ 190 8½ 0 1,100 10½ 0 1,397 9 5 1,421 8½ 0 2,216 0 0	1/-	10d.	2d.	
do. 296/9	Mich. 11 Hen. VIII to Mich. 12 Hen. VIII	William Stafford, esq.		34 7½ 0½	1/-	10d.	2d.	

TABLES OF BULLION COINED.

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DECLARED A/cs. <i>Audit</i> 1595/1	Mich. 22 Hen. VIII to Mich. 29 Hen. VIII	Thomas Pope to 23 Dec., then John Browne	18,897½ 0 0 2,845 0 0 58,723 4½ 0	1/- 2/-	10d. 15d.	Irish. (Under Pat. 6 Mar. 27 Hen. VII to Rowlett and Bowes, &c.)
Exchr. K. R. A/cs. 302/20	1 May 29 Hen. VIII to 31 May 32 Hen. VIII					
DECLARED A/cs. <i>Audit</i> 1595/2	Mich. 22 Hen. VIII to Mich. 33 Hen. VIII	John Browne	8,261 6 0 1,830 0 0	1/- 2/-	10d. 1/3	Irish
<i>Audit</i> 1595/3	Mich. 34 Hen. VIII to Mich. 35 Hen. VIII	"	2,575 0 0 3,045 0 0	1/- 2/-	10d. 15d.	Irish
Exchr. K. R. A/cs. 302/22	1 July 34 Hen. VIII to 31 Mar. 35 Hen. VIII	"	22,053 0 0	2/6		(See note in <i>Gold Table</i> , p. 67, below.)
B.M. Harl. MS. 698, f. 20.	Mich. 35 Hen. VIII to 31 Mar. 35 Hen. VIII	"	2,408 0 0	1/-	10d.	(No coinage elsewhere.)
Exchr. K. R. A/cs. 302/24	1 June 36 Hen. VIII to 31 Mar. 36 Hen. VIII	— (9 oz. fine)	62,203 0 0	—	2d.	11d. on 53,833 lb.; for workmanship of the residue, and melting of the 'sezel' coming of the same, 14d. per lb.
	1 Apr. 36 Hen. VIII to 31 Mar. 37 Hen. VIII	(6 oz. fine)	73,398 0 0		11d. ¹	
	1 Apr. 37 Hen. VIII to 31 Mar. 1 Edw. VI	(4 oz. fine)	50,100 0 0	—	11d.	
	Dec. 38 Hen. VIII	(do.)	700 0 0	—	"	
	1 Apr. 1 Edw. VI to 30 Sept. 1 Edw. VI	(do.)	11,613 6 0		10d. ² 12d. ²	¹ For all but 150 lb. of it. ² For the said £150 in small moneys, as pence and halfpence.

(For note on the a/c. of Sir Edward Peckham, High Treasurer of the King's Mints, May 1544 to May 1554, see p. 43.)

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Bullion Purchased.		Total Deduction.	Mint- age.	Signer- age.	Remarks.
DECLARED A/c's. Page. 2078	1 Oct. 1 Edw. VI to 30 June 4 Edw. VI	John Browne, surveyor	li.	oz. d.				A/c. of Sir Martin Bowes (see note, Gold Table, p. 68, below).
	4 oz. silver to 8 oz. alloy (Oct., 1, to Sept., 2 Edw. VI)		36,402	0 0		10d. groats 12d. small moneys		(No more of this standard made within the time of this account [except converted testons].)
	(Oct. to Dec., 2 Ed. VI)		5,844	0 0				
	6 oz. silver to 6 oz. alloy ¹ (Apr., 3 Edw. VI) (Oct., 3, to June, 4 Edw. VI)		966 40,638	0 0 0 0		8d. ²		¹ No more such till 1 Oct. ³ Edw. VI, the mint being occupied with conversion of testons into sundry standards. ² Portion wrought by moneyers from Bristol at 6d.
	4 oz. silver to 8 oz. alloy converted testons (Jan., 2, to Mar., 3 Edw. VI)		14,600	0 0 ²		10d. & 12d.	(as above.)	³ Including the weight of alloy. ⁴ A mass of foreign testons forfeited by one Julyan Carcano, stranger.
			960	0 0 ⁴				

8 oz. silver to 4 oz. alloy, converted testons (Feb., 3 Edw. VI) 1,949 0 0	7d.			
6 oz. silver to 6 oz. alloy, converted testons (May to Sept., 3 Edw. VI) 21,855 0 0	8d.			
<p>The making of harp groats for Ireland under com- mission of . . . May 36 Hen. VIII; account made 9 Jan. 4 Edw. VI</p> <p>(8 oz.—4 oz.) 2,780 0 0</p>	10d.	—		

(See more harp groats
coined at Bristol.)

(Note. The Accounts of Sir
Edward Peckham, High
Treasurer of the Mint,
May 1544 to May 1554
(Declared A/cs.—*Pipe*,
2,077, 2,079, and 2,080),
record the revenue re-
ceived from the Under-
treasurer of the revenue,
and increase of bullion
coined, but give no
details as to amounts of
gold and silver upon
which each sum re-
ceived is calculated.)

CANTERBURY

Reference.	Date.	Accountant.	Bullion Purchased.	Total Deduction.	Mint- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
Exchr. K. R. A/cs. 302/35	25 Mar. 36 Hen. VIII to 25 Mar. 4 Edw. VI <i>Canterbury.</i>	William Tyll- worthe, under- treasurer of the King's Mint erected in Can- terbury	li. oz. d.				Pat. dated 15 April 36 Hen. VIII. Indrea. 27 Mar. 36 Hen. VIII. (silver, 6 oz. <i>sr.</i> , 8 oz. <i>alloy</i>) 1 Apr. 37 Hen. VIII (silver, 4 oz. <i>sr.</i> , 8 oz. <i>alloy</i>) 1 Apr. 1 Edw. VI (silver, 4 oz. <i>sr.</i> , 8 oz. <i>alloy</i>) 16 Feb. 2 Edw. VI (silver, 4 oz. <i>sr.</i> , 8 oz. <i>alloy</i>)
		(6 oz.-6 oz.)	21,309 0 0				Com. to melt down testons 16 Feb. 2 Edw. VI 24 Jan. 2 Edw. VI (4-8 oz.) (8-4 oz. <i>shillings</i>) 12 Apr. 3 Edw. VI (6-6 oz. <i>shillings</i>)
		(4 oz.-8 oz.)	17,944 6 0				¹ (None coined in month of January.) ² (None coined in month of February.)
			5,688 1 0				³ Corrected from 8,180 lb. (which figure is left un- corrected in reckoning the waste, &c., on it.)
			20,613 8 0				
			8,660 0 0 ²				

<p>4 (Apr. to Sept., 3 Edw. VI) 3,949 6 0⁵</p> <p>(8 oz., 4 oz.)</p> <p>(Feb. 3, Edw. VI) 1,880 0 0</p> <p>(6 oz., 6 oz.)</p> <p>5 (July to Aug., 3 Edw. VI) 5,000 0 0</p> <p>(Oct. to Dec., 3 Edw. VI) 7,035 0 0</p> <p>(4 oz., 8 oz. testons melted down)</p> <p>7 (Jan., 2, to Sept., 3 Edw. VI) 16,764 0 0</p> <p>(Dec., 3 Edw. VI) 39 9 0</p> <p>(8 oz., 4 oz. testons melted down)</p> <p>(Feb., 3 Edw. VI) 1,540 0 0</p> <p>(6 oz., 6 oz. testons melted down)</p> <p>8 (May to Aug., 3 Edw. VI) 8,515 0 0</p>	<p>6 (None May-Aug. inclusive.)</p> <p>9 In said reckoning this is called 4,429 lb. 6 oz. in months of Mar., Apr., and Sept.</p> <p>In the first statement there is said to have been coined in Mar. 480 lb., which is wholly scored through.</p> <p>6 (None such in Sept.)</p> <p>7 (None in Apr., May, and Aug., nor in Oct. and Nov. following.)</p> <p>Follows an account of the melting down of church plate from Canterbury churches, and bullion remaining in hand from converted testons, but not coined.</p> <p>8 There is no account of coinage after this date; the lower part of one sheet has been cut away, but there would not have been room on the part cut away for an account Sept., 3, to Mar., 4 Edw. VI.</p>
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BRISTOL

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Bullion Purchased.	Total Deduct- tion.	Mini- mum.	Signor- age.	Remarks.
Exchr. K. R. A/cs. 302/30	1 May 38 Hon. VIII to 31 Mar. 1 Edw. VI	(4 oz.-8 oz.) 16,833 0 0 harp groats for Ireland : (3 oz.-9 oz.) 3,657 0 0	li. oz. d.		7d.		
do. 303/6	1 Jan., 2 Edw. VI to 25 Mar. 4 Edw. VI (1 Jan., 2, to 31 Oct., 3 Edw. VI)	(4 oz.-8 oz.) 5,978 10½ 0			"		(Giles Evenat chief graver.) (The moneyers receive daily wages.)
	(May and June, 3 Edw. VI)	(6 oz.-6 oz.) 306 0 0					
	(4 oz.-8 oz. molten testons)	(1 Jan., 2, to 31 Oct., 2 Edw. VI)	13,576 11 0				
	(6 oz.-6 oz. molten testons)	(May and June, 3 Edw. VI)	538 5½ 0 169 8 0½				† Scyzell, brocade and grains remaining of the said testons.

TABLE II.—GOLD
LONDON

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Bullion Purchased.		Total Deduction.	Mintage.	Seigniorage.	Remarks.
Exchr. L. T. R. For Acc. 18, E	20 Sept. 1377 to 29 Sept. 1384	John Gurmon- chestre.	li.	oz. d.	5/-	1/6		
			2,197 6	2½				
			80 0	0 1	"	"		¹ Coined to King's use, by writ of privy seal 15 Dec. 7 Ric. II, no seigniorage taken thereon.
do. 21, A	29 Sept. 1384 to 29 Sept. 1387 (gap in time between death of Gurmonchester and patent to Rouelyf)	"	2,290 18	0½	"	"		² He died.
do. 23, D	19 Jan. 1388 to 29 Sept. 1389	Guy Rouelyf	1,824 7	5½	"	"		
do. 24, D	29 Sept. 1389 to 29 Sept. 1390	"	1,626 15	3	"	"		

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Bullion Purchased.	Total Deduction.	Min- age.	Signor- age.	Remarks.
Exchr. L, T. R. For. A/cn. 25, F	29 Sept. 1390 to 29 Sept. 1391	Guy Roucliff	li. oz. d. 1,535 7 9	5/-	1 6		
do. 26, D	29 Sept. 1391 to 9 Dec. 1392	he & his executors	1,694 13 5½	"	"		
do. 28, E	9 Dec. 1392 to 29 Sept. 1393	Andrew Newport	869 0 23	"	"		
do. 29, E	29 Sept. 1393 to 29 Sept. 1395	"	1,807 3 4½	"	"		¹ (Including £177 15s. 6d. from the Duke of Lan- caster.)
do. 30, C	29 Sept. 1395 to 29 Sept. 1396	"	526 14 3	"	"		
do. 32, B	29 Sept. 1396 to 29 Sept. 1398	Andrew Newport	2,290 0 18	"	"		
do. 35, F	29 Sept. 1398 to 15 Oct. 1399	"	1,109 0 12½	"	"		

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Pure Gold Coined.	Total Deduction.	Min- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
F. 3 Hen. IV, f	14 Oct. 1399 to 29 Sept. 1402	Rob. Helhe- cote, esq.	li. oz. d. 1,465 13 10½		1/6 (tale)	3/6	
F. 4 Hen. IV, b	Mich. 1402 to Mich. 1403	"	298 12 10		1/6	3/6	
F. 6 Hen. IV, a	Mich. 1403 to 24 Jan. 1404	Exors. of "	97 13 4		"	"	
F. 6 Hen. IV, d	24 Jan. 1404 to Mich. 1405	Lewis Recoche (Jan. to Mich. 1404) (Mich. '4 to 1405)	216 3 6½ 221 7 2		"	"	18½, 2½ dwt., being the King's gold. The 3½d. omitted in 'ex- penses'.
F. 7 Hen. IV, d	Mich. 1405 to Mich. 1406	"	360 10 0½		"	"	
F. 8 Hen. IV, d	Mich. 1406 to Mich. 1407	"	198 15 0½		"	"	
F. 9 Hen. IV, b	Mich. 1407 to Mich. 1408	"	144 13 1½		"	"	
	(Gap, see Silver, p. 30, above)						
F. 1 Hen. V, a	29 Nov. 1411 to 29 Nov. 1412	Henry Somer	8,992 3 10		"	"	
ibid.	29 Nov. 1412 to Mich. 1413	"	8,329 7 0½		"	"	'In 'expenses' 8s.

Reference.	Date.	Warden	Pure Gold Coined.	Total Deduct- ion.	Mint- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
F. 6 Hen. V, <i>a</i>	Mich. 1413 to Mich. 1417	Henry Somer	l. 18,810 s. 6 d. 3		1/6	3/6	Reciting terms of an in- denture 14 Apr. 1 Hen. V, enrolled Originalia—rot. 63.
F. 6 Hen. V, <i>d</i>	Mich. 1417 to 31 Mar. 1419	"	2,804 18 4		"	"	
F. 9 Hen. V, <i>f</i>	31 Mar. 1419 to Mich. 1420 (31 Mar. 1419 to 31 Aug. 1420) (31 Aug. to 30 Sept. 1420)	"	2,447 12 1 151 5 0		" "	" "	
F. 1 Hen. VI, <i>c</i>	Mich. 1420 to 31 Mar. 1422	* Henry Somer	5,908 5 8		"	"	Seigniorage not charged on 20 <i>li.</i> of gold belonging to Queen Catherine, brought to the Exchange to be coined anew by Giles Thornden, re- ceiver of the Queen's chamber, 7 Jan. 1422, by writ of Privy Seal.

(The remaining five months of Henry V are accounted for in the next account,
which runs to 3 Henry VI; so not included here.)

TABLES OF BULLION COINED.

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F. 2 Hen. VI, D	30 Mar. 10 Hen. V to Mich. 3 Hen. VI	"	19,746 11 0½	5/-	1/6	3/6	Under indenture, 16 Feb. 1 Hen. VI (Orig. rot. 21), with Bartholomew Goldbeter, Master of the Mint. John Derlyngton, camp- sor and assayer. Gilbert Brandeburgh, en- graver of dies. Adam Adryan, late en- graver of dies.
F. 3 Hen. VI, A	Mich. 3 Hen. VI to Mich. 4 Hen. VI	"	3,465 12 10	"	"	"	
F. 4 Hen. VI, G	Mich. 4 Hen. VI to Easter (20 Ap.) 5 H. VI	"	3,078 4 12½	"	"	"	Payment to Brandeburgh for engraving 2,713 dies for gold and silver coin- age at Calais.
F. 5 Hen. VI, A	20 Apr. 5 Hen. VI to Mich. 6 Hen. VI	"	762 2½ 2½	"	"	"	
F. 6 Hen. VI, C	Mich. 6 Hen. VI to Mich. 7 Hen. VI	"	1,691 10 7½	"	"	"	
F. 9 Hen. VI, H	Mich. 7 Hen. VI to 31 Mar. 8 Hen. VI	"	1,528 10 7½	"	"	"	Payment to do. for 1,405 dies for silver coinage at Calais.

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Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Pure Gold Coined.	Total Deduction.	Mint- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
F. 9 Hen. VI, H	31 Mar. 8 Hen. VI to Mich. 10 Hen. VI	Henry Somer	li. 1,300 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5/-	1/6	3/6	John Tyso, campsor and assayer, appted. 16 July 8 Hen. VI. John Hexham do., 28 Jan. 9 Hen. VI. 2,187 dies for silver coins at Calais (as above).
F. 12 Hen. VI, B	Mich. 10 Hen. VI to Mich. 12 Hen. VI	"	1,143 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ 2	"	"	"	Indre with William Russe, Master of the Mint, 8 Sept. 10 Hen. VI (Orig. rot. 6). John Orewell, engraver of dies, 23 Nov. 10 Hen. VI.
"	Mich. 12 Hen. VI to 26 June 12 Hen. VI	"	477 4 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	"	
"	26 June 12 Hen. VI to Mich. 13 Hen. VI	"	157 6 15	"	"	"	John Paddesley, Master of the Mint, 26 June 12 Hen. VI. Indre with him 10 July 12 Hen. VI (Orig. rot.).
"	Mich. 13 Hen. VI to 24 June 13 Hen. VI	"	300 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	"	Henry Ragley, campsor and assayer, 4 July 12 Hen. VI.
F. 14 Hen. VI, B	24 June 13 Hen. VI to Mich. 15 Hen. VI	"	565 7 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	"	
F. 15 Hen. VI, F.	Mich. 15 Hen. VI to Mich. 16 Hen. VI	"	339 9 5	"	"	"	

F. 17 Hen. VI, D	Mich. 16 Hen. VI to Mich. 17 Hen. VI	"	315	1	2½	5/.	1/6	3/6	
F. 19 Hen. VI, A	Mich. 17 Hen. VI to 18 Dec. 18 Hen. VI	"	545	7	13½	"	"	"	
F. 20 Hen. VI, C	18 Dec. 18 Hen. VI to Easter (16 Ap.) 19 H. VI	Master John Somerseth	505	4½	0	"	"	"	Somerseth's patent, 18 Dec. 18 Hen. VI.
F. 21 Hen. VI, E	16 Apr. 19 Hen. VI to Mich. 22 Hen. VI	"	691	3	11½	"	"	"	
F. 22 Hen. VI, I	Mich. 22 Hen. VI to Mich. 23 Hen. VI	"	243	8	14½	"	"	"	
F. 24 Hen. VI, A	Mich. 23 Hen. VI to Mich. 24 Hen. VI	"	162	0	3½	"	"	"	
F. 25 Hen. VI, F	Mich. 24 Hen. VI to St. John Bap. 25 H. VI	"	37	8	0	"	"	"	Robert Manfeld, Master of the Mint (indre. 13 Dec. 24 Hen. VI (K. R. Mem. Roll, Bressia, Trin. 25 Hen. VI, rot. 2).
Exch. K. R. A/ex. 294/5	St. John Bap. 25 H. VI to St. John Bap. 26 H. VI	(Mich. to 13 Dec.) (13 Dec. to 24 June)	236½	1	8½	"	"	"	
"	St. John Bap. 26 H. VI to 11 Oct. 28 Hen. VI	John Lematon (altered to the executors of John Lematon)	87	10	17½				
"	St. John Bap. 26 H. VI to 11 Oct. 28 Hen. VI	The said execu- tors	204	10	2½				Lematon died 11 Oct. 28 Hen. VI (F. 29 Hen. VI, D).

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Pure Gold Coined.		Total Deduction.	Mind-age.	Seignior-age.	Remarks.
F. 29 Hen. VI, D	11 Oct. 28 Hen. VI to Mich. 29 Hen. VI	Thomas Montgomery	li. 357	oz. 1 14	5/-	1/6	3/6	Warden's patent, 25 Oct. 28 Hen. VIII (K. R. Mem. Roll, Record, Trin. 28 Hen. VI, rot. 1). Thomas Thorp and Rd. Joyner, controllers, campsores, and assayers.
F. 31 Hen. VI, B	Mich. 29 Hen. VI to Easter (9 Ap.) 30 H. VI	"	415	1 32	"	"	"	Warden's patent, 6 Feb. 30 Hen. VI (K. R. Mem. Roll, Record, Trin. 30 Hen. VI, rot. 1).
" D	9 Apr. 30 Hen. VI to Easter (1 Ap.) 31 H. VI	"	262	0 1/2 0	"	"	"	Rd. Joyner, controller, campsor, &c.
F. 32 Hen. VI, C	1 Apr. 31 Hen. VI to Easter (21 Ap.) 32 H. VI	"	123	10 7 1/2	"	"	"	Humphrey Hayford, do. (appointed. 2 Mar. 30 Hen. VI).
F. 36 Hen. VI, N	21 Apr. 32 Hen. VI to Easter (28 Mar.) 34 H. VI	"	149	6 0 1/2	"	"	"	
F. 37 Hen. VI, B	28 Mar. 34 Hen. VI to Mich. 36 Hen. VI	"	128	2 1/2 7 1/2	"	"	"	
" "	Mich. 36 Hen. VI to Mich. 37 Hen. VI	"	84	10 0	"	"	"	
F. 1 Edw. IV, O	Mich. 37 Hen. VI to Mich. 38 Hen. VI	"	19	5 11	"	"	"	

"	Mich. 38 Hen. VI to Mich. 39 Hen. VI	" & John Hende	113	2	15	"	"	"	Warden's patent, 25 June 35 Hen. VI (K. R. Mem. Roll, <i>Records</i> , Hil. 37 Hen. VI). Robert Tunstall, Master of the Mint, indre 12 Apr. 37 Hen. VI (Orig. 37 Hen. VI, rot. 26).
F. 4 Edw. IV, D	15 Sept. 2 Edw. IV to 1 Sept. 4 Edw. IV	Sir Thomas Montgomery	293	5	5	"	"	"	¹ (Before which date Thos. M., esq., late Warden, is to account.) Warden's patent, 15 Sept. 2 Edw. IV (Orig. rot. 32), reciting pat. of 15 June 1 Edw. IV. Thos. Seynleiger, control- ler, &c. Sir Wm. Hastynges, kt., Master of the Mint (indre 23 May 1 Edw. IV).
F. 8 Edw. IV, P	1 Sept. 4 Edw. IV to Mich. 6 Edw. IV	" "	12,389	11	10	20/10 per lb.	2/4	18/6	Indre with said Sir Wil- liam, 6 Mar. 5 Edw. IV (K. R. Mem. Roll, <i>Re- corda</i> , Mich. rot. 45).

[? any gap.—I can find nothing to fill it.]

[a gap, which I can find nothing to fill]

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Pure Gold Coined.	Total Deduction.	Mint- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
F. 16 Edw. IV, A	26 Oct. 8 Edw. IV to Mich. 15 Edw. IV	John Wade, esq.	li. s. d.				Warden's patent, 26 Oct. 8 Edw. IV (K. R. Mem. Roll, <i>Recorda</i> , Mich. rot. 20).
	1 (26 Oct. 8 Edw. IV to 28 Sept. 9 Edw. IV)		2,044 6 0	14/6	2/6	12 -	(In charge also of mints of York and Bristol.) Indre with Sir Wm. Hast- ings, 2 Mar. 8 Edw. IV (K. R. Mem. Roll, <i>Recorda</i> , Hil. rot. 35).
	29 Sept. 9 Edw. IV to 30 Sept. 10 Edw. IV		2,289 6 0 (London)				For this period he does not account, under gen- eral pardon, see K. R. Mem. Roll, <i>Recorda</i> , Hil. 15 Edw. IV, rot. 11; and he has actually paid the King what is due).
			88 0 0 (York)	"	"	"	
			142 3 0 (Bristol)				
From 31 Sept. 10 Edw. IV to Easter (14 April) following he can answer for no profits, during the usurpation of Henry VI, during which time John Langstrother and John Delves took all the profits to the use of Henry VI; but later he does account for money found in the Mint at York, of the profit of the minting of gold and silver there between Xmas 10 Edw. IV and Easter 11 Edw. IV—£7 9s.							
	14 Apr. 11 Edw. IV to Mich. 15 Edw. IV		7,565 7 0 (London)	7/6	2/6	[95/-]	Indre with Sir Wm. Hastyngea 28 Feb. 11 Edw. IV (K. R. Mem. Roll, <i>Recorda</i> , Mich. 15 Edw. IV, rot. 19).
			54 7½ 0 (York)				

		(14 Apr. 11 Edw. IV to 23 July 12 Edw. IV)	117 3 0 (Bristol)	7/6	2/6	5/-	
F. 15 Edw. IV, D	Mich. 15 Edw. IV to 6 May 16 Edw. IV	John Wode, esq. (and of Thos. Bowes, his at- torney) ²	451 10 0	"	"	"	Indre with Hugh Brice, deputy of Hastings. Edmund Shaa, engraver of dies (pat. 26 Feb. 1 Edw. IV, K. R. Mem. Roll, Mich. 4 Edw. IV, rot. 6).
F. 17 Edw. IV, A	6 May 16 Edw. IV to Mich. 17 Edw. IV	John Wode, esq., and Thomas Bowes	1,104 4 0 697 11 0 (under new indre)	"	"	"	² (K. R. Mem. Roll, 17 Edw. IV, <i>Attorn.</i> , Trin., and writ of Privy Seal, 19 June 15 Edw. IV; <i>ibid.</i> Hil. 15 Edw. IV, rot. 2.) Patent 6 May 16 Edw. IV (K. R. Mem. Roll, <i>Recorda</i> , Mich. rot. 16). Indre with Sir Wm. Hastings, 3 Feb. 16 Edw. IV. (<i>Ibid.</i> , 17 Edw. IV Easter, rot. 17). No coinage during the period elsewhere than in London. (No coinage elsewhere.)
"	C Mich. 17 Edw. IV to Mich. 18 Edw. IV	" "	1,121 1 0	"	"	"	(Thos Bowes died 14 Sept.)
F. 19 Edw. IV, A	Mich. 18 Edw. IV to 14 Sept. 19 Edw. IV	" and exors. of Th. Bowes	1,047 5 0	"	"	"	(No coinage elsewhere.)
F. 20 Edw. IV, A	14 Sept. 19 Edw. IV to Mich. 20 Edw. IV	John Wode, esq.	1,357 8 0	"	"	"	(do.)
"	E Mich. 20 Edw. IV to Mich. 21 Edw. IV	"	794 0 0	"	"	"	

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Pure Gold Coined.			Total Deduction.	Mini- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
F. 22 Edw. IV, D	Mich. 21 Edw. IV to Mich. 22 Edw. IV	John Wode, esq.	li.	oz.	d.	7 6	2 6	5/-	(No coinage elsewhere.)
F. 1 Ric. III, C	Mich. 22 Edw. IV to Mich. 1 Ric. III	" (Oct. to Dec.) (Feb. to Apr.) (May and June) (July to Sept.)	97	1	0	"	"	"	Pat. confirmed 12 Feb. 1 Ric. III (K. R. Mem. Roll <i>Recorda</i> , Hil. rot. 7). Under indre with Barth. Reede, 12 Feb. 22 Edw. IV (K. R. Mem. Roll, Easter term of Edward the Bastard (V), rot. 4). Without indre with the late Ld. Hastings, but by mandate of the Lord Treasurer. Indre with Robert Brak- ynbury, esq., 20 July 1 Ric. III (K. R. Mem. Roll <i>Recorda</i> , Mich. rot. 2).
Exchr. K. R. A/cx. 295 2	Mich. 1 Ric. III to Mich. 2 Ric. III	"	735	1	0	"	"	"	(No coinage elsewhere); (no 'controlment'). John Kendale, controller, camper and assayer, (no coinage elsewhere). (The amounts minted month by month are given in 296/3.)

TABLES OF BULLION COINED.

59

F. 2 Ric. III, B	30 Sept. 2 Ric. III to 25 Sept. 1 Hen. VII	(30 Sept. to 22 Aug.)	388 6 0	7/6	2/6	5/-	(No coinage from 21 Aug. to 25 Sept.)
† Exchr. K. R. A/cas. 298/33 m. 1	7 Oct. 1 Hen. VII to Mich. 2 Hen. VII (and see * p. 60)	25 Sept. to 2 Nov. 2 Nov. to 30 Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb. Mar. Apr. May June July Aug. Sept.	nil 59 6 0 34 6 0 33 8 0 37 10 0 31 8 0 48 10 0 49 1 0 33 3 0 31 8 0 60 6 0 51 8 0				1 Controlment roll of Nicholas Flynte, esq., controller, campsor, and assayer. Sir Giles Dawbeney and Bartholomew Rede, masters of the mint.
" m. 2	Mich. 2 Hen. VII to Mich. 3 Hen. VII	Oct. Nov. Dec. Feb. and Mar. Apr. (to 14th) 15 Apr. to 3 May 4-31 May 1-24 June 24 June to 31 July Aug. Sept.	46 2 0 43 3 0 32 7 0 54 8 0 32 0 0 30 7 0 19 9 0 24 1 0 31 10 0 30 1 0				Controlment roll as above.
" m. 3	Mich. 3 Hen. VII to Mich. 4 Hen. VII (and see † p. 61)	William Stafford Oct. Nov. 1-24 Dec. 25 Dec. to 31 Jan. Feb. Mar.	40 7 0 28 10 0 20 0 0 nil 60 7 0 30 6 0				(do.)

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Pure Gold Coinied.		Total Deduction.	Mint- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
		Wm. Stafford,	li.	oz. d.				
			Apr. 69	6½ 0				
			May	nil				
			June 29	10 0				
			July 40	6 0				
			Aug. 34	6 0				
			Sept. 48	9 0				
			Oct.	nil	7/6		2/6	
		"	Nov. 15	0 0				
		1-24 Dec.	10	10 0				
		25 Dec. to 31 Jan.	15	1 0 0				
		Feb.	17	2 0				
		Mar.	17	8 0				
		Apr.	18	7 0				
		May 18	11 0					
		June 17	2 0					
		July 30	10 0					
		Aug. 26	6 0					
		Sept. 50	6 0					
			472	2 0	7/6	2/6	—	(25 Sept.-7 Oct. without controlment.) Indre with Sir Giles Daubeney, Kt., and Barth. Reed 4 Nov.
Exchr. K. R. A/cas. 295/10	Mich. 4 Henry VII to Mich. 5 Hen. VII							
do. 295/11								
F. 1-24 Hen. VII 1 Hen. VII, A	(the enrolment of Exchr. K. R. A/cas. 295/2) Mich. 1 Ric. III to Mich. 2 Ric. III							
* 2 Hen. VII, A	25 Sept. 1 Hen. VII to Mich. 2 Hen. VII							

4+ 2 Hen. VII, B	Mich. 2 Hen. VII to Mich. 3 Hen. VII	"	345	0	0	"	1 Hen. VII (K. R. Mem. Roll, Mich. 2 Hen. VII rot. 6.) (No coinage elsewhere.)
+ 6 Hen. VII, E	Mich. 3 Hen. VII to Mich. 5 Hen. VII	(Mich. 3-Mich. 4) (Mich. 4-1 Mar.) (1 Mar.-Mich.)	403	7½	0	7/6	Privy Seal, 1 Mar. 4 Hen. VII. He charges himself with the residue, 5/-, on account. (No coinage elsewhere.)
						2/6	—
(From Mich. 5 Hen. VII there is no account by Stafford either the original, the controlment, or enrolment of the warden's original till 14 Oct. 10 Hen. VII, but see note 2, below.)							
12 Hen. VII, B	2 14 Oct. 10 Hen. VII to Mich. 14 Hen. VII	William Stafford, esq.	3,275	7	0	2/6	(Reference to a provision upon an Act of Resumption, 3 Hen. VII (K. R. Mem. Roll, Hil. 14 Hen. VII, <i>Recorda</i> , rot. 1.) 2 Before which date Stafford was discharged from accounting (<i>ibid.</i> , Mich. 10 Hen. VII, <i>Recorda</i> , rot. 2). Henry Wyott, controller and assayer. Indre with John Shaa and Bartholomew Rede, Masters of the Mint, 20 Nov. 8 Hen. VII (<i>ibid.</i> , Trin. 8 Hen. VII, <i>Recorda</i> , rot. 1).)

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Pure Gold Coined.	Total Deduct- tion.	Mint- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
15 Hen. VII, A	Mich. 14 Hen. VII to Mich. 16 Hen. VII	William Stafford, esq.	li. 1,787 1 0 s. d.	2 6	1/10		(No coinage elsewhere.)
16 Hen. VII, B	Mich. 16 Hen. VII to Mich. 18 Hen. VII	"	2,424 5 0	"	"		(do.)
18 Hen. VII, B	Mich. 18 Hen. VII to Mich. 19 Hen. VII	"	1,272 1 1/2 0	"	"		(do.)
" A	Mich. 19 Hen. VII to Mich. 20 Hen. VII	"	1,612 6 1/2 0	"	"		(do.)
19 Hen. VII, A	Mich. 20 Hen. VII to Mich. 21 Hen. VII	"	2,112 1 3/4 0	"	"		(do.)
20 Hen. VII, A	Mich. 21 Hen. VII to Mich. 22 Hen. VII	" (Mich.-1st Nov.) (1 Dec.-Mich)	187 2 0 4,059 7 3/4 0	" "	" "		Indrew with Rob. Fenrother and Wm. Rede, Masters of the Mint, 20 Nov. 21 Hen. VII (K. R. Mem. Roll, Hil. 21 Hen. VI, rot. 1.) (No coinage elsewhere.)
22 Hen. VII, A	Mich. 22 Hen. VII to Mich. 23 Hen. VII	William Stafford, esq.	3,804 9 1/2 0	"	"		(do.)
"	Mich. 23 Hen. VII to Mich. 24 Hen. VII	"	5,452 11 1/2 0	"	"		(do.)

24 Hen. VII, A	Mich. 24 Hen. VII to Mich. 1 Hen. VIII (Mich. to 1 Sept. 1 Hen. VIII)	4,920 9 0	"	"	(On 1 Sept. 1509, Ld. Mountjoy entered upon office of Master of the workmen of the mints of London and Calais.)
"	Mich. 1 Hen. VIII to Mich. 3 Hen. VIII	379 3½ 0	"	"	(Indre with Lord Mountjoy, 14 July, K. R. Mem. Roll, Mich. 1 Hen. VIII, <i>Records</i> , rot. 16.) His patent 14 July 1 Hen. VIII. (No coinage elsewhere.) (No coinage elsewhere.)
"	Mich. 3 Hen. VIII to Mich. 4 Hen. VIII	5,317 4½ and ½ plate	"	"	(do.) John Sharp, cutter of dies. Pat. 12 Feb. 1 Hen. VIII (K. R. Mem. Roll, Trin. 2 Hen. VIII, <i>Records</i> , rot. 15).
F. Hen. VII-Eliz. 3 Hen. VIII, A	Mich. 4 Hen. VIII to Mich. 5 Hen. VIII	1,196 8½ and 3½ plates 3,250 11½ and ½ plate	"	"	1 'xj unc iij qrt di. 7. plate auri. (No coinage elsewhere.) Reference to Wm. Woodward, late cutter of the dies, in 35 Hen. VI., and Nicholas Flynt in 6 Hen. VII.

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Pure Gold Coined.	Total Deduction.	Mint- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
4 Hen. VIII, A	Mich. 5 Hen. VIII to Mich. 6 Hen. VIII	Wm. Stafford, esq.	14,419 6½ oz. d. and 8 plates	"	"	—	(No coinage elsewhere.)
Exchr. K. R. A/cs, 296/7	Mich. 6 Hen. VIII to Mich. 7 Hen. VIII	"	1,866 1½ and 5 plates	2/6	1/10	—	(Totals are added in this account of the monthly amounts of gold and silver respectively.)
do. 296/8	Mich. 7 Hen. VIII to Mich. 8 Hen. VIII	"	2,397 0½ 0	"	"		
do. 298/34	Gap. No account, warden, or controller. 8-9 Hen. VIII Mich. 9 Hen. VIII to Mich. 10 Hen. VIII	—	Oct. 65 4½ and 1½ plates Nov. 171 3½ 0 Dec. 69 4½ and 1 plate Jan. 153 0 0 Feb. 166 8 0 Mar. 204 1 0 Apr. 223½ 0 0 May 98 1 0 June 207 5 0 July 375 3 0 Aug. 338 3½ 0 Sept. 67 10½ 0				(Roll of Sir Henry Wyatt, controller.)
do. 298/35	Mich. 10 Hen. VIII to Mich. 11 Hen. VIII	—	Oct. 342 8½ 0 Nov. 363 8 0 Dec. 202 5½ 0 Jan. 121 11½ 0 Feb. 114 11 0				(Controller's Account, as the last.)

do. 296/9	Mich. 11 Hen. VIII to Mich. 12 Hen VIII	Wm. Stafford, esq	1,612 4½ 0	Mar. 257 2 0 Apr. 112 11 0 May 167 8 0 June 207 11½ 0 July 186 4½ 0 Aug. 284 5 0 Sept. 79 0½ 0	2/6	1/10	8d.	Totals are here added up.	
do. 298/35	Mich. 12 Hen. VIII to Mich. 13 Hen. VIII	— 1-12 June 12-30 June July Aug. Sept.	Oct. 92 2½ 1 Nov. 203 4½ 0 Dec. 83 3 0 Jan. 32 8½ 0 Feb. 91 1½ 0 Mar. 81 7½ 0 Apr. 49 9 0 May 33 8½ 0 June 56 4½ 1 July 45 2½ 2 Aug. 154 1½ 0 Sept. 149 4½ 0 Oct. 34 6½ 0	(In the time of John Copynger, now Keeper.) <i>Note.</i> The figures of this roll are in many cases difficult to decipher. Those of Copynger's time have been checked by his roll for 12 June-Mich. 13 Hen. VIII (296/10) which gives <i>total gold</i> , 378 4 oz 2 pt.					Totals are here added up.
do. 296/11	Mich. 13 Hen. VIII to Mich. 14 Hen. VIII	John Copynger, esq.	632 9 2	(This roll gives the totals added up.)					Totals are here added up.

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Pure Gold Coined.	Total Deduct- tion.	Mint- age.	Seignior- age.	Remarks.
Exchr. K. R. A./cs. 296/12	Mich. 14 Hen. VIII to Mich. 15 Hen. VIII	John Copynger, esq.	li. oz. d. 406 3 3	2/6	1/10	8d.	(Totals added up.)
<p>(From Mich. 15 to Mich. 18 Hen. VIII, I can find no account of the amounts of gold and silver coined, except by implication in the eight years mentioned in Lansdowne MS. (B.M.), see below. This is a [contemporary] docket of the coinage from Mich. 18 to Mich. 22 Hen. VIII, drawn up in answer to the demands of Amadas, Lowlet, and Bowes, deputies of Lord Mountjoy, which demands are set forth in a long paper roll (P. R. O. Exchr. K. R. A./cs. 302/19). This roll gives, not the amounts of gold and silver coined, but the amount of mintage (gold and silver included) received by them month by month during those four years.)</p>							
(B.M.) Lansdowne MS. 4/209	Mich. 18 Hen. VIII to Mich. 22 Hen. VIII	—	7,016 4 1	—	19d.	—	(See note in Silver table.)
(Another gap I am unable to fill.)							
DECLARED A./cs. Page. 2074	Oct. & Nov. 28 Hen. VIII (Although in date in- cluded in the account next below, it would seem, from the amount coined, that it must have been in addition to the gold therein accounted for.)	John Browne	400 0 0	—	—	8d.	(Account of parcels of gold and silver plate recd. by Sir Martin Bowes and Ralph Rowlett, masters of the Mint, Oct. and Nov. 28 Hen. VIII. (Part was plate of the abbey of Conishead, Cartmell, Briscough, and Holland.)
do.							
Audit 1595/1	Mich. 28 Hen. VIII to Mich. 29 Hen. VIII	Thomas Pope & John Browne (successively), changing 23 Dec.	31 5½ 0 (23 <i>et</i> 2½ <i>g</i> .) 1,011 0¼ 0 (22 carat)	2/9	1/6	—	Wardens' patents, 13 Nov. 26 Hen. VIII and 23 Dec. 28 Hen. VIII. Indre with Rowlett and Bowes 6 Apr. 24 Hen. VIII. (K. R. Mem. Roll, Mich. 27 Hen. VIII, <i>Recorda</i> , rot.—). (No coinage elsewhere.)

Exchr. K. R. A/cs. 302/20	1 May 29 Hen. VIII to 31 May 32 Hen. VIII	—	3,378	9	0	—	—	—	Merely a list, by months, of amounts coined, with- out further details.)
DECLARED A/cs. Audit 1595/2	Mich. 32 Hen. VIII to Mich. 33 Hen. VIII (gap of one year)	John Browne (23 c. 3½ g.) (22 carat)	28	10	0	2/9 3/-	1/6 1/7	(No coinage elsewhere.) (Thomas Wriothsley, cut- ter of the irons.)	
do. 1595/3	Mich. 34 Hen. VIII to Mich. 35 Hen. VIII	" (22 carat) (23 c. 3½ g.)	275	6	0	"	"	(No coinage elsewhere.)	
Exchr. K. R. A/cs. * 302/22	1 July 34 Hen. VIII to 31 Mar. 35 Hen. VIII (gold coined only in the months July to Novem- ber, February, March 34 Hen. VIII.)	" (23 carat)	541	6	0	4/-		Account of coinage by Sir Martin Bowes and Ralph Rowlett (indro 16 May 34 Hen. VIII, for coins of gold, 23 carat (1 of alloy), and silver 10 oz. to 2 oz. alloy. (The amounts coined are given month by month.) Note. The account of John Browne (1 May 34 Hen. VIII to 31 Mar. 35 Hen. VIII), records only the coinage shown in *, and no other. (Declared A/cs., Audit, 1595/4.)	
(B.M.) Harl. MS. 698 f. 20	Mich. 35 Hen. VIII to 31 Mar. 35 Hen. VIII	" (23 c. 3½ g.) (22 carat)	31	6	0	2/9 3/-	1/6 1/7	(No coinage elsewhere.)	

(For note on the account of Sir Edward Peckham, High Treasurer of the King's Mints, May 1544 to May 1554, see p. 42).

(For note on the account of Sir Edward Peckham, High Treasurer of the King's Mints, May 1544 to May 1554, see p. 43).

Reference.	Date.	Warden.	Pure Gold Coinage.			Total Deduction.	Mintage.	Seigniorage.	Remarks.
			li.	oz.	d.				
Exchr. K. R. A./ca. 302/24	1 June 36 Hen. VIII to 31 Mar. 36 Hen. VIII	John Browne (23 carat) (22 carat) (20 ") (20 ") John Browne, surveyor (20 carat) (22 carat)	5,761	6	0	—	8 <i>d.</i>		(Coinage in the office of Sir Martin Bowes.)
	1 Apr. 36 Hen. VIII to 31 Mar. 37 Hen. VIII		6,869	6	0	—	9 <i>d.</i>		
	1 Apr. 37 Hen. VIII to 31 Mar. 1 Edw. VI		3,586	0	0	—	9 <i>d.</i>		
	1 Apr. 1 Edw. VI to 30 Sept. 1 Edw. VI		3,573	0	0	—	"		
	1 Oct. 1 Edw. VI to 30 June 4 Edw. VI								
DECLARED A/cs. Page. 2078							9 <i>d.</i> 11 <i>d.</i>		Account of Sir Martin Bowes, one of the under- treasurers of the King's Mints in the Tower (pats. 3 June 36 and 12 Apr. 36 Hen. VIII), under indres of 5 Apr., 1 Edw. VI and 16 Feb., 2 Edw. VI, both for 20 <i>d.</i> gold, and silver of 4 oz. silver to 8 oz. alloy— also commissions for the melting down of testons—a commission 24 Jan. 2 Edw. VI to coin 22 <i>cl.</i> gold, and silver 8 oz. to 4 oz. of alloy; and 12 Apr. 3 Edw. VI, 22 <i>cl.</i> gold, and
	(Oct., 1, to Sept., 2 Edw. VI (Oct. to Dec., 2 Edw. VI)		3,826	0	0				
	(Feb. to Sept., 3 Edw. VI (Oct., 3, to Apr., 4 Edw. VI)		729	0	0		11 <i>d.</i> "		

silver money called shillings, 6 oz. to 6 oz.
 Henry Basse, chief graver, succeeded by Robert Pytt, John Laurence, undergraver (with dates of patents).

BRISTOL

Exchr. K. R. A./cs. 1 May 38 Hen. VIII to
 302/30 31 Mar. 1 Edw. VI

(20 carat) 213 10 0 7d.

—

III.


L'ANGELOT DE LOUIS XI.



VERS l'époque où Édouard IV créait, en Angleterre, son Angelot d'or, destiné à durer jusqu'au temps de Charles I^{er},¹ il fut fabriqué en France un Angelot, à la vérité assez différent, puisque, au lieu de la lance, il porte l'épée et le bouclier, et au lieu du justaucorps de plumes, une cuirasse.² La frappe de cet Angelot exceptionnel³ n'interrompt point en France l'émission des Écus.

De l'Angelot de Louis XI, il existe cinq variétés dans Hoffmann, *Monnaies royales*⁴: Double angelot d'or (en manuscrit), Angelot d'or (manuscrit), Demi-angelot d'or (seul retrouvé d'après Hoffmann) et deux

¹ H. Grueber, *Handbook*, pls. XI-XXIV.

² Le cuirasse paraît sur l'Angelot anglais sous Henri VII. 

³ Ce que les changeurs appellent Ange de France (Mon *Manuel des poids monétaires*, p. 90) c'est l'Ange d'or de Philippe VI, qui circulait encore aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles, mais plus pesant que l'Angelot anglais. J'ai dit (p. 148) que l'Angelot anglais fut imité par l'abbesse de Thorn en Pologne: c'est l'abbesse de Thoren, en Westphalie.

⁴ Pl. XXXVI, 7-11; Mon *Manuel de numism. franç.*, p. 299.

piéforts argent de deux types. Or l'Angelot, c'est vrai, n'a pas été retrouvé, ce sont les piéforts qui en tiennent lieu; et le Double non plus, mais c'est le Triple qui a été retrouvé, et c'est en effet le Triple qui devait l'être, on verra pourquoi.

C'est un membre de la Société française de numismatique, M. Lhuillier, qui m'a signalé cet exemplaire, conservé jusqu'ici au Cabinet parmi les médailles, ce qui explique qu'il soit resté ignoré de Hoffmann.

A quelle occasion ont été frappées ces pièces? On a parlé d'une commémoration de la fondation de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel, mais cet événement date de 1439, et nous sommes en 1467.⁵ On y a vu un essai de rénovation du monnayage, mais le type était devenu celui de l'Angelot anglais, créé en 1465, et il n'est pas probable que Louis XI songeât à copier le voisin pour ses propres espèces. En vérité, c'était une pièce de plaisir, un cadeau destiné à l'ambassadeur d'Édouard IV, le comte de Warwick, et à sa suite; c'était comme si la musique du roi leur eût joué le *God save the King*, puisqu'ils trouvaient en guise d'hymne national leur propre monnaie reproduite sur le quai de France.

On sait, au reste, que l'Ange, *Angelus*, était le type parlant de l'Anglais. Le pape Grégoire I, rencontrant sur le marché de Rome des Anglo-Saxons qu'on s'appropriait à vendre comme esclaves, ne s'était-il pas écrié devant ces beaux hommes: «*Non Angli sed angeli, si christiani*. Ce ne seraient pas des Angles, mais des anges, s'ils étaient chrétiens»? Louis XI pouvait se plaire au même jeu de mots, tout en se frottant les

⁵ Saulcy, *Documents monét.*, t. iii, pp. 257-8.

maines d'avoir éloigné une fois de plus l'invasion par sa politique.

Saulcy dit dans ses *Documents* : « et furent forgés en la Monnoye de Rouen, de différents poids, comme d'une once, demye, tiers, quart et huitième d'once. »

J'ai d'abord cherché inutilement à identifier ces poids, parce que je m'obstinais à découvrir l'once de Troyes, mais, dès que j'ai eu l'idée de me retourner vers l'once romaine, tout s'est éclairci. Le piéfort n'apprend rien, étant fait d'argent pour correspondre à une pièce d'or qui fut sans doute frappée à ce module, mais le Demi-angelot, à 2 gr. 21, représente exactement (pour 2 gr. 27) le douzième d'once. Par suite, l'Angelot a dû être au poids de 4 gr. 53 ou 4 gr. 55, représentant un sixième d'once romaine (et non huitième, qui ne correspondrait à rien, tandis que le sixième est le sou ou sextule). La pièce retrouvée pèse 13 gr. 58 (pour 13 gr. 59); c'est exactement le sextuple du Demi et le triple de l'Angelot; c'est la demi-once romaine. Reste à retrouver l'once, de 27 gr. 19, mais il y a beaucoup de chances pour qu'elle ait été fondue.

Et cela nous montre une fois de plus que la livre romaine n'avait pas encore disparu de l'horizon au XV^e siècle; nous y voyons également une confirmation des calculs de P. Guilhiermoz⁶ qui dit que la livre romaine au moyen âge avait été ramenée de 327 gr. 45 (chiffre de Böckh généralement admis) à un taux légèrement inférieur, 326 gr. 3372, que nous avons suivi dans notre calcul.

A. DIEUDONNÉ.

⁶ P. Guilhiermoz, *Note sur les poids du moyen âge*, dans *Bibl. Éc. des Ch.*, 1906, t. LXVII, pp. 161-233 et 402-450; cf. mon tableau, p. 175 (21 du tir. à part) de mon article de *Moyen Âge*, 1920.

MISCELLANEA.

A FIND OF CISTOPHORI.


I PLACE on record the details of a number of cistophori, evidently part (if not the whole) of a hoard, which have passed through my hands. The varieties are numbered; of those which are asterisked specimens have been retained for the British Museum.

The hoard, judging from what is presented here, must have been buried soon after 129 B.C. The later specimens in each series have seen but little circulation. Noticeable are the Pergamene coins Nos. 11-15 with letters above the bow-case and on the right symbols other than the serpent-twined staff which comes in in 133 B.C.; these doubtless mark the transition from the earlier series without any mark above the bow-case. The place where the hoard was found has not been revealed.

G. F. H.

PERGAMUM.

Circa 200-133 B. C.

No.	On left.	In centre.	On right.	Ref. B.M.C.	Number of Specimens.
1			caduceus	86	1
2-4	"		thyrsus filleted	89	3
5, 6	"		dolphin		2
7	"		crested helm l.		1
8*	"		?		1
9*	"		ivy-leaf down-wards		1
10*	"		cornucopiae		1
11, 12*	"	ΑΣ	gorgoneion		2
13, 14*	"	ME	club entwined by serpent		2
15*	"	EP	thunderbolt		1

EPHESUS.


Circa 202-133 B. C.

16-19	ΕΦΕ		B above head of Art. Eph.	144	4
20, 21	Star above ΕΦΕ		laurel-branch filleted	146	2
22, 23*	ΕΦΕ		stag and palm-tree	151 var.	2
24, 25*	"	Demeter with two torches	cock		2


No.	On left.	In centre.	On right.	Ref. B.M.C.	Number of Specimens.
<i>Circa 133-129 B. C.</i>					
26, 27	A above ΕΦΕ	Bee	torch		2
28, 29*	B " "	"	"		2
30, 31	Γ " "		"	156	2
32*	" "	Bee	"		1
33	ΕΦΕ	Δ	"		1
34-37	"	E	"	157	4




SARDES.

Circa 200-133 B. C.






38	CAP		serpent round omphalos	6	1
39-42*	ΣΑΡ		Zeus Lydios holding eagle		4

TRALLES



43	ΤΡΑΛ		head of Zeus and sceptre	2	1
44-46	"		filleted tripod	13	3
47	"		round shield		1
48*	"		amphora with top		1
49, 50	"		head of Helios facing	24	2

No.	On left.	In centre.	On right.	Ref. B.M.C.	Number of Specimens.
51, 52	"		poppy-head and corn-ear	25	2
53*	"	"	Macedonian helm		1
54	"	star	head of Helios r. below 	27	1
55-59	"	thunderbolt	eagle r. below 	28	5

APAMEA.

60			elephant's head r.	5	1
61*	above  ?  below 		flute ¹ 		1

UNCERTAIN MINT.

62*	? below, small prow, r.		aphlaston		1
63*	?  below 		head r.		1

Total 63

¹ The object which Head (B.M.C. *Phrygia*, p. 70, No. 9) takes for the end of a second flute is, I think, the letter Δ.

REVIEWS.

RECENT WORK ON ANCIENT SPANISH NUMISMATICS.

1. Antonio Vives y Escudero, *La Moneda Hispánica*. Madrid, Real Acad. de la Historia, 1924-26. Pp. cxevi + 74 + 200 + 135 + 148, with 173 plates.

2. Adolf Schulten, *Die Lager bei Renieblas* (Numantia, Bd. IV), München, 1929. Pp. xiv + 309, with 89 plates, 2 maps, and 32 plans.

3. Julio Cejador, *Iberica*, I. In *Butlletí de l'Associació Catalana d'Antropologia, Etnologia i Prehistòria*, iv, 1926, pp. 190-225.

4. R. G. Grosse, *Deutsche Altertumsforschung in Spanien*. Bamberg, C. C. Buchner, 1929.

GREAT expectations were entertained of the comprehensive work on the coinage of ancient Spain, on which the late Don Antonio Vives y Escudero was engaged at the time of his death. Although the printing of the book was nearly completed when that much to be regretted event happened, his health had been failing for a long time, and that he was able to carry his work so far is a striking testimony to his energy and determination. If the expectations of scholars have been considerably disappointed, the above-mentioned facts must be adduced in partial excuse for the manifold faults of the book, and especially for the innumerable misprints due to inadequate proof-reading. The great merit of the work is the immense mass of material which has been brought together from Spanish collections, and illustrated in the plates, although the quality of those plates leaves much to be desired. It is however notoriously difficult to find well-preserved specimens of Spanish bronze coins, and what looks like bad photography may often be due to the worn condition of the originals. In the case of at least one collection, the Cervera, now in the possession of the Hispanic Society of New York, the author has been obliged to content himself with photographing the paper rubbings which he made before the collection passed to New York; the result is a mockery. Collections outside Spain have been little used; the Paris Cabinet has been drawn upon,

and to a certain extent the British Museum. But no attempt, it would appear, has been made to get at the Lorichs collection at Stockholm, or the Vidal Quadras y Ramón collection, which is in private hands. Berlin is mentioned once or twice only.

The chief criticism to which the author is liable is ultra-scepticism. It is true that earlier students of Spanish numismatics have been fanciful. So too are some living ones. Probably no one now regards seriously the explanation of the combinations of two or even three names on certain coins as examples of alliances between various communities. And many of the readings of the Iberian inscriptions may be uncertain, and the identifications with places mentioned by Greek and Latin authors may often be doubtful or wild. But to throw the whole affair of the Iberian inscriptions overboard, and to transcribe them without attempting to transliterate, as if there were absolutely nothing in all the work that has been done by earlier investigators, can only be taken, by those who have grappled with the question at all, as a confession of inability to appreciate that kind of work. No research can go on without speculation and conjecture, but the author seems to be shy of all such exercise. It is characteristic of him that, commenting on the absence of historical confirmation of the identity of Col. Iulia Victrix Lepida with Col. Iulia Victrix Celsa, he exaggerates the apparent difference in style between the two series of coins, and gleefully reads a lesson to the "Iberists", because here, in a case of perfectly clear Latin inscriptions, we remain uncertain about an identification. As another reviewer has pointed out,¹ a very large proportion of the interpretations of the Iberian inscriptions must be regarded as certain by all serious students. *Usecerb* must be *Osicerda*, and *Segprices* must correspond to *Segobriga*. In the former case we have the partial transliteration OSI on the coins themselves; yet by Vives it is only mentioned in a footnote that others have identified the mint as *Osicerda*. There are other curious instances of ultra-scepticism. The coins of Emporion of "Carthaginian" type, for instance (*rev.* Victory over horse) are always found in Spain. But our author refuses to admit them to his book, because, he says, in art, types and standard they differ from the *Pegasi* of Emporion. The form **ΕΝΤΟΠΙ-ΤΩΝ**, with N for M, shows, he says, that the inscription

¹ Adolf Schulten, in *Phil. Week.*, 1927, no. 52, Sp. 1578, 1588.

cannot have been written by an Emporitan. Yet this form occurs on some Pegasi, as on one illustrated by the author; he himself, it is amusing to see, uses the **N** in the title to one of his plates. The failure to assimilate the **N** in such a collocation is, of course, familiar to students of Greek epigraphy. His suggestion that the coins were issued by a place called Emporion, near Carthage, cannot be taken seriously. That they are Spanish is certain, if only because they were imitated by local engravers, who combined their obverse type with the reverse type of Rhode. What is more, there exist links between these and the Pegasus series in coins such as those described by Botet (p. xliii), which combine the head of Kore surrounded by dolphins on the obverse with the horse and Victory on the reverse.

As Don Antonio mentions standards in this connexion, it is fitting to observe that he has made little use of his immense opportunities of noting the weights of Spanish coins. For a weight to be mentioned is quite the exception in his book. In this particular instance, let us see what the facts before us come to. It is true that the weight of the "Carthaginian" type rises occasionally to above 5 gm. (Zobel, p. 130, gives 5.36 gm.; a specimen at Vienna weighs 5.10 gm.); but this is exceptional. Weights recorded are too few for a satisfactory frequency diagram; but 15 out of some 20 specimens are massed together in the 4.75 to 4.90 area. Now take the Pegasi. According to Vives, they average about 4.50 gm., i. e. they are on a standard slightly degenerated from that of Rhode, which is only natural, seeing that they are rather later than the Rhodete coins. But had Vives made full lists of the weights, he could hardly have put them so low as he does. Fortunately his omission is largely repaired, as far as concerns the so-called Chrysaor Pegasi, by Pujol's careful publication of the Segaró hoard as long ago as 1881. The weights of the Pegasi of the Greek issues with the ordinary Pegasus are massed about the 4.70 line of the frequency diagram. The norm of the so-called Chrysaor Pegasi, on the other hand, is distinctly lower, and appears to be somewhere near 4.30 gm. Thus, though the "Carthaginian" drachms are on a somewhat higher standard than the Greek Pegasi of Emporion, the difference is less than might be supposed, and the difference from the standard of Rhode is still less (maximum 5.13 gm.; 21 out of 33 specimens range between the 4.70 and 4.90 lines). When to date the "Carthaginian" type is another question which we need not discuss here.

Don Antonio's book raises innumerable other points on which it would be easy to write at length, but I forbear, insisting that, with all its faults of conception, arrangement and execution, it is invaluable and indispensable to all students of Spanish numismatics.

If Vives found it so difficult to interpret Iberian inscriptions that he gave up the task, another writer, Professor Julio Cejador, has found it so easy that he is quite angry with his Spanish colleagues for being blind to the true gospel. In his *Iberica*, he sets forth the translation of the inscriptions, not merely on coins but on other objects. With the greatest ease he interprets the lead plaque of Alcoy as giving a spirited dialogue (worthy of the best Spanish tradition in drama), apparently between an inn-keeper and some semi-drunken customers. As to the coins, he has no difficulty whatever in explaining the inscriptions on, for instance, the series of Obulco, which his misguided predecessors have taken for the names of magistrates, as descriptive of the types or of the place where they were issued. Thus: "O ripe" (referring to the ear of corn); "in the field of a slope or height" (referring to the situation of the town); "of terribly black black," i.e. very black or deep (referring to the bottom of the well and the thick forest which was there). Nor when the inscriptions are in Latin is he at a loss; thus ILDITVR ESNEG(O) means "dead fountain of milk", though he confesses he is not sure whether this refers to the great herds of kine or to the abundant supply which had disappeared. And DETVMO SISIP (or SISIR as he reads it) means "I have a ripe lentil." Is it necessary to add that the key to all these solutions, which add so much to the brightness of numismatics, is the Basque language?

In the *Bolleti de la Soc. Arqueol. Iulianu*, for December, 1928, Sr. L. F. Campo has begun a series of articles on the coins of Ebusus with Punic inscriptions. They have not, however, advanced far enough for it to be clear how much they are going to add to our knowledge of this difficult subject.

We have next to mention the important contribution to Iberian numismatics by the late Dr. E. J. Haeberlin, which forms part of the fourth volume of *Numantia*, the magnificent publication in which the excavations by Professor Adolf Schulten are described. This publication, as every one interested in Spanish antiquities knows, is a model of its kind. So is Dr. Haeberlin's section on the coins found at

Numantia, which has been reprinted in the memorial volume which is reviewed on another page with more special reference to its bearing on Roman numismatics. Here we may notice one or two points on the Iberian side. If the third camp at Renieblas was uninhabited after 153 B. C., we have a valuable *terminus ante quem* for certain series; but there was, it seems, a second occupation in 137 B. C., when Mancinus surrendered to the Numantines, so that the latter date must probably be used when we try to date the Iberian bronze found there. Now it is quite clear that at that time there must have been in circulation bronze which no Roman would have regarded as anything but semuncial, a standard which was not to be established at Rome until much later. The Iberian bronze, then, as Haeberlin points out, was not on the Roman, but on some much lighter standard. It would seem that the heaviest asses date from fairly early in the second century; the fall in the weight must have been rapid, if so many coins of what one had supposed to be semuncial were already in circulation by the middle, or soon after the middle of the same century, as the Renieblas finds indicate.

A curious feature of the Renieblas finds noted by Haeberlin is the large proportion of coins of *Sethisa*, ten out of the total of seventeen, found in the third camp. Nobody knows where *Sethisa* was; but the style and types seem to indicate the Ebro district. Delgado, who had given the coins to that district, was shaken when he found no less than sixteen specimens in a private collection at Córdoba. One might argue that bronze Iberian coins could not have travelled so far in such large quantities, so that *Sethisa* must have been if not in Baetica (their style precludes that assumption) still near the border, somewhere perhaps near the *Saltus Castulonensis*. Now comes the Renieblas evidence, strongly in favour of the Ebro district. Still later is the as yet unpublished fact that a lady, Miss Joshua, walking on a hill (Cerro Muriano) near Córdoba some years ago, on the site of an old mine, picked up four bronze coins. They were the only coins she found, and *they were all of Sethisa*. (One of them she has since presented to the British Museum.) If it is true that bronze does not travel far, this is very strong evidence for Delgado's second opinion. Nevertheless, if we can judge by style, we must accept the Ebro attribution. And the explanation of the plentifulness of these coins at Córdoba must be that they were imported by the people who worked the mine where they were found.

The case seems to be parallel to that of the coins used at the Roman mine now known as El Centenillo near La Carolina (province of Jaén).¹ The Society which worked that mine countermarked the coins which it used, as it marked its utensils and seals, with its initials, S.C. Now it is remarkable that all the six bronze coins so countermarked found at Centenillo are Iberian coins of Tarraco. Another coin of Tarraco with the same countermark was found near Posadas to the south of Córdoba, and four others near Granada. If bronze coins of Tarraco, which lay north of the mouth of the Ebro, were so plentifully used so far from the place of their minting, it is clear that the finding of coins of Sethisa in plenty at Córdoba is no argument against their having been minted in the Ebro district.

Of the two coins found at Numantia which Haeberlin has listed as foreign, one, which he conjectured to be of Tarentum (No. 147) is really of Saguntum. That leaves only a bronze coin of Hiero II with the head of Poseidon, *rev.* Trident. One might have expected the rider type, which according to one theory is the original on which the common Iberian *ginele* is modelled, and is said to be plentiful in Spain.

Although it is not strictly numismatic, it is fitting to mention here the pamphlet of R. G. Grosse on "German Investigation of Antiquities in Spain". Apart from its value as an account of research (not confined by any means to German), this pamphlet is interesting for its Appendix, which takes the form of a biographical account of the man who undoubtedly holds the first rank among living authorities on the subject, Adolf Schulten, the excavator of Numantia. Attached is a useful bibliography of Schulten's writings.

G. F. H.

Ernst Justus Haeberlin: Sein Wirken in Wissenschaft und Leben. Herausgegeben von Dr. MAX VON BAHRFELDT. Pp. 96. Mit 1 Porträt und 4 Tafeln. F. Bruckmann, Munich, 1929.

This book, prompted by the affection and piety of the family, crowns the memory of the great numismatist, whose loss we mourned three years ago. In part it is a purely personal record: we see Haeberlin as a young classical

¹ Hill and Sanders in *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, i, 1911, p. 102.

student, as a mountain climber, as a draughtsman of remarkable skill and perseverance, as an enlightened German patriot. The personal elements are interesting in themselves, and are not irrelevant to the picture of the scholar; for Haeberlin the numismatist was pre-eminently distinguished for qualities, which, we now see, were equally characteristic of Haeberlin the man—seriousness, adventurous courage, and iron endurance.

The editor, perfectly qualified by a long friendship for the task, has given us a vivid picture of Haeberlin's numismatic activities. We realize that the great "*Corpus Aeri Gravis*" did not come into being without years of labour and preparation. Haeberlin devoted every energy and opportunity to the research of knowledge on this his favourite field, and it was, we may now realize, a bitter disappointment to him that, despite all the praise lavished on him, he met with little deep appreciation of his work. To the end he remained convinced that the foundations of the early Roman coinage had been well and truly laid for all time in his "*Systematik*". However unwilling some will be to accept his views in the finality with which he enunciated them, all will gratefully concede that he might justly have boasted "*Exegi monumentum aere perennius*".

On the numismatic side, we are given a most valuable bibliography of Haeberlin's works, a few interesting scraps from his pen—on a false Roman five As piece, on an As of Tudor, on patina as a test of genuineness, on Giesecke's view of early Roman coinage—and a report, of more serious value, on the coins found in the excavations around Numantia.

Needless to say, the coin evidence is marshalled and reviewed in masterly style, and opportunity is found to convey to the reader, who is not a numismatist, some conception of the general arrangements made by Rome for coinage. By far the most important feature of the finds was a hoard of over eighty victoriatas, found in that fort at Renieblas, which is dated by the excavator to the year 153 B.C.² This is the first hoard consisting entirely of victoriatas that has been found outside Italy, and Haeberlin

² As regards the date of this fort (see pp. 32 and 59), it should be noted that the *denarius* of Sex. Pompeius Fostlus, a specimen of which is quoted as found there, is certainly to be dated *circa* 132 B.C.: the group to which it belongs contains unmistakable references to the land reforms of Ti. Gracchus.

uses the occasion to review what we know of the victoriate and suggest approximate dates for its hoards. One comment particularly (p. 61) rings out true and clear: "The victoriate was Rome's coin for foreign commerce—not with Illyria only, but with the whole world." Behind all, of course, is the "Systematik" and those who cannot subscribe to it will have points to question here and there. In all the forts sextantal bronze actually outnumbered uncial (p. 57 f.). How could this be possible, if the sextantal bronze ceased to be struck at the very beginning of the Roman occupation? On p. 73, coins of Capua, Calatia and Atella with Oscan legend are attributed to the period before the Punic Wars: but do they not all belong to the revolt against Rome under Hannibal? On p. 77, Haeberlin adopts and applies to Spain Mommsen's view that Italian communities were sometimes instructed to strike bronze on a lower standard than the Roman. Neither the original thesis nor its application to Spain can be accepted to-day without very serious reconsideration. The evidence in favour is not very strong and there are practical difficulties involved.

But criticism is not the note on which to leave this record of a very great scholar. His works live after him, and all students of the coins of the early Republic, whether they follow his one way or another, must all be at one in the very deep debt they owe him.

H. M.

IV.

THE LAW OF TREASURE-TROVE, PAST AND PRESENT.¹

THERE must be very few of the minor subjects in our present system of English law which combine more fully the qualities of age and entertainment than treasure-trove.² That the subject is one of considerable obscurity has been insisted upon from time to time in various articles in learned periodicals, both archaeological and legal. It is easy to instance cases in which doubt has been felt whether or not objects brought unexpectedly to light were the property of the finder or of the owner of the land on which the discovery was made, or of the Crown. And it is the main object of the present paper to emphasize that, the law of treasure-trove being indefinite, the practical difficulties in its administration which may arise are due not so much to the complexity attaching to particular cases as to the haze in which the origin of the law rests, and to the casual manner in which the rules have taken shape. The printed publications, issued by the Public Record Office and other learned bodies and societies, particularly in the last half century, are of considerable assistance in providing new illustrations of the confused development of this branch of the law.

It may be well first shortly to refer to the early history of the subject in continental countries in order

¹ Reprinted from the *Law Quarterly Review*, vol. 42, 1926, pp. 368-81, by kind permission of the Editor and the Author of the article.

² The evolution of the expression "treasure-trove" is well described in the *New English Dictionary*.

to indicate that little or no light can be thrown on the law in this country by comparative methods. Roman, Teutonic, Frankish, Norman and other systems of law have all included provisions dealing with treasure-trove. And, since a radical difficulty exists in elucidating our own law owing to the uncertainty of the principles governing its origin, it might assist interpretation if such principles could be discovered in the ancient laws of other countries. But unfortunately these principles are as obscure in other cases as in our own. In the case of Roman law it is highly doubtful whether the foundation of the doctrine of treasure-trove was due to governmental activity or whether it merely originated in an accommodation between the finder and the owner of the land on which the discovery was made. The only legislation in Rome was in the period of the Empire; and the implication in those laws that the subject's right to treasure-trove depended on an act of grace on the part of the Emperor may be no more than "a piece of Imperial grandiloquence".³ In the case of Teutonic law there appears to be some evidence that the origin of treasure-trove was bound up with a right of the State to grave-money.⁴ In some countries the origin is possibly attributable to a royal right to mines and minerals.

The origin in this country may with some likelihood be alleged to be connected with the King's rights respecting coinage, and it is sometimes found that these rights are a test of developed kingship; or it may be referred to a principle generally explanatory

³ Cf. Professor E. C. Clark, *Roman Private Law*, vol. ii, p. 592, and an article by the same writer in 43 *Arch. Journal*, pp. 350 ff.

⁴ See Huebner, *History of Germanic Private Law*, p. 430.

of the origin of prerogative, which is mentioned by Hallam,⁵ to the effect that, where there is a conflict of rights between the King and his subjects, the King is given the advantage. Although there is no convincing evidence to prove that the rules of treasure-trove were borrowed from the Roman legal system, it is by no means improbable that the essential idea reached here indirectly from that source. It is attractive to imagine Dunstan persuading King Edgar to import profitable doctrines which he had discovered in his studies of Roman law, or Lanfranc (who learned his Roman law at Pavia) helping William the Conqueror to reinforce his position by adopting Imperial tactics; but this is merely the recreation of conjecture. Some, like Professor Clark, have leaned towards the probability of a Teutonic origin, based on some such feudal doctrine as that of ultimate ownership of land vested in the lord paramount.⁶ Even if it were possible, however, to assert that either the Roman, the Teutonic or the Frankish systems were the derivative sources of our law in this respect, we should still be left with the uncertainties which exist regarding various points of English treasure-trove law. The Roman law on the subject, though bearing many analogies to the English, is found to be doubtful just on the points on which there is uncertainty in this country. And, as regards the Franks and the Teutons, we have no satisfactory evidence of the nature of their treasure-trove law at any date prior to the emergence of such a law in England. Similar considerations apply to Normandy,

⁵ Quoted in Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (3rd ed.), vol. iii, p. 329.

⁶ 43 Arch. Journal, p. 352.

where there is the added difficulty that in that country the doctrine was quite certainly not indigenous.

Kemble—that great pioneer in the field of Anglo-Saxon law and antiquities—remarked that treasure-trove was frequently granted by Anglo-Saxon kings to monastic houses by the words (in Anglo-Saxon) “all hoards above the earth and below the earth”, and he proceeded to refer to the many mentions of hidden treasure in Anglo-Saxon literature.⁷ But Kemble, like many other estimable people, occasionally indulged in rather rash assertions. Search in printed collections of Anglo-Saxon charters has only yielded one instance of a grant of the kind noted by him—a conclusion which seems to have the confirmation of Professor Liebermann.⁸ This instance is a grant by a charter of King Edgar to Glastonbury Abbey,⁹ a charter which is no charter at all, since it is now accepted by the leading authorities as undoubtedly spurious. It must be admitted, however, that Anglo-Saxon land charters were very inexplicit and often imply the grant of territorial prerogatives which were sufficiently guaranteed by local tradition.¹⁰ But it is noteworthy that there is no mention of treasure-trove in any of the Anglo-Saxon laws.

Another case of a spurious (or almost certainly spurious) charter including a grant of treasure-trove is that of William I to Battle Abbey.¹¹ Various editions

⁷ *The Saxons in England*, vol. ii, pp. 55 ff.

⁸ *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vol. ii, p. 635; vol. iii, p. 317.

⁹ Printed in Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. iii, p. 574.

¹⁰ Cf. Earle, *Land Charters*, p. xxiii.

¹¹ See Calendar of Charter Rolls, vol. iii, p. 197; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. iii, p. 244; and Professor H. W. C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, vol. i, No. 261.

of this charter purport to grant "thesaurus" or "thesaurus inventus". But it is with regret that we are, it seems, compelled to forgo the belief that the Conqueror endowed the Abbey, which he is said to have vowed to build when he was *in procinctu belli*, with royal rights known to him in his own country. The charter is one which was probably concocted by the monks for purposes of litigation.¹²

It is likely that no recognizable principle of treasure-trove law was apparent in England until the early twelfth century. A grant in a charter to Croyland Abbey in 1114,¹³ and one or two more grants of approximate date are not of sufficiently assured authenticity to enable reliance to be placed upon them. Indeed, as far as grants by charter provide evidence, it is probable that few were made until the end of the fourteenth century, when there was a sudden activity of grants to religious houses, great nobles, and, later (for financial reasons), to great corporations.¹⁴ But there is an early mention of treasure-trove in the history of Ordericus Vitalis, covering the years 1115-1116,¹⁵ the genuineness of which appears to be free from suspicion. An evil-minded person named Robert Malart is recorded as having falsely stated that one Bricstan had fraudulently appropriated and concealed the King's own money, having found hidden treasure. *Thesaurus inventus*, moreover, is stated in the *Leges Henrici Primi* to be one of the King's *iura*. These

¹² Cf. 29 Eng. Hist. Rev. pp. 426 ff.

¹³ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. ii, p. 120.

¹⁴ It may be observed that some charters at the end of the twelfth century expressly excluded *thesaurus*; see, for instances, *Rotuli Chartarum*, vol. i, pp. 32, 33.

¹⁵ Book vi, chap. x.

laws were formulated about 1118 with the object of describing the legal system of Edward the Confessor, as amended by the Conqueror and Henry I. A somewhat similar statement appears in the *Leges Regis Edwardi Confessoris* (circa 1130). But, in this latter case, though gold is stated to be the King's, only half silver is said to be his, the other half being given to the Church. No reliance, however, can be placed on this variation, since these laws are work "of a bad and untrustworthy kind",¹⁶ the author of which had an obvious bias towards ecclesiasticism. Before the end of the twelfth century the strong-headed insistence on his rights to treasure-trove across the seas had led Richard I to lay siege to Châlus, where he met an untimely end.¹⁷

* * * * *

In the only modern case before the Courts in which the definition of treasure-trove has been a vital factor in litigation¹⁸ the judge adopted the following definition:¹⁹ "Treasure-trove is where any gold or silver, in coin, plate, or bullion, is found concealed in a house, or in the earth, or other private place, the owner thereof being unknown". It is now proposed to see how far this definition is supported by authority. For this purpose the definition may conveniently be divided into four heads: (1) the material of treasure-trove; (2) the method of original deposit; (3) the place of deposit; and (4) the condition of the owner being unknown.

¹⁶ Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (2nd ed.), vol. i, p. 103.

¹⁷ See *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hoyedene* (Rolls Series), vol. iv, p. 82; and Norgate, *Richard the Lionheart*, pp. 324 ff.

¹⁸ *Att. Gen. v. Trustees of British Museum* [1903] 2 Ch. 598.

¹⁹ From Chitty, *Prerogatives of the Crown*.

(1) The first of these heads may be quickly disposed of. Glanvill (*circa* 1188)²⁰ mentioned "some kind of metal" as constituting treasure-trove. Bracton (*circa* 1250)²¹ said that it was "*money or some other metal*". Glanvill's definition is too vague to need attention; and some of Bracton's statements on the subject, as on a few other subjects, are obviously largely extracted from the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (although not the words italicized). His observations relating to treasure-trove seem to fail to distinguish the Roman law principles regarding *res nullius* and treasure-trove. As a fact, the Roman law was obscured as regards the nature of the material covered by the rules owing to an absurd confusion between *monilia* and *mobilia*. But, whatever conclusions may be drawn from the early law-book writers, it is abundantly clear from subsequent history that in practice only objects of gold and silver have been regarded in English law as treasure-trove. And it may be surmised in passing that, where objects are partly gold or silver and partly jewels or the like, the substance of the matter should be the determining factor. There are found occasional instances of articles, such as daggers, being held by Leet Courts to be treasure-trove;²² but these isolated instances may be neglected.

(2) The recently adopted definition above mentioned and many other definitions of treasure-trove state that the gold or silver must be found concealed. Does this mean that it must have been secretly deposited?

²⁰ Tractatus, book xiv, chap. ii.

²¹ De Legibus (Rolls Series), vol. ii, pp. 269-270.

²² e. g. Selden Society, vol. v, p. 52.

Probably not,²³ though some cases refer to persons being suspected of having found treasure anciently hidden in the earth. In most cases of treasure-trove no doubt the "find" was originally a hoard secretly hidden through miserly motives or for purposes of safety from hostile forces or from detection in crime; but it sometimes happens that the circumstances surrounding the discovery indicate that there was no intention of hiding—for instance, when valuables of gold and silver have been openly placed in a tomb. In this case it may possibly be argued that, like a shroud, the articles remain the property of the original owners, e.g., the deceased's representatives.²⁴ But, as was observed above, it has been suggested that in Germany the right to treasure-trove (*Schatzfund*) originated in the right to grave-contributions. And it is recorded that in 1227-8 the Justices in Eyre at Bedford referred a case of the finding of treasure buried in an old grave at Husborne to the King's Court in London, evidently regarding it as one raising a *prima facie* inference that the King was entitled to the objects discovered as treasure-trove. The discovery included six plates, a chain and two brooches, all of gold, and a cross partly of gold and partly of silver.

²³ Cf. *Law Quarterly Review*, vol. xx, p. 32. Bracton's definition throws some light on the "*depositio*"; but it is copied almost word for word from the Digest (xli, tit. 1, 31, 1). It seems that he did not utilize Azo's *Summa* in this instance, see Azo (1596 ed.), p. 938, and contrast Scrutton, *Roman Law and the Law of England*, p. 83. It has been maintained that Bracton only imported principles of Roman law when there appeared to him to be gaps to be filled in his treatise. If this is the fact, it suggests that at Bracton's time the English law of treasure-trove was rudimentary.

²⁴ *Hayne's Case* (1614) 12 Coke Rep. 113.

It would seem that these objects were of more than ordinary interest, since not only the King preferred a claim to them as treasure-trove, but the bishop and prior also both advanced claims on other grounds. The matter was, however, compromised, the treasure being given to a new ecclesiastical foundation, without prejudice to the rights of any of the claimants.²⁵

In the well-known case of the discovery of valuable gold ornaments at Lough Foyle in North Ireland in 1896,²⁶ the validity of the defendants argument, that the articles were not treasure-trove, since they were votive offerings to a sea-god, did not require to be considered. It was held that there was no evidence of a votive offering or even of a sea-god to whom they could be offered.

A different set of circumstances, indicating an absence of original concealment, was disclosed in the case of the Crediton treasure-trove (1896), where a bag of coins, with papers and a pipe, was found on a beam, which appeared to have been used as a pigeon-holed shelf in an office, before being inadvertently plastered up in reconstruction. The coins, in this instance, were treated as treasure-trove, although the surrounding facts seemed to suggest that they had been deposited rather in the course of business than from motives of secrecy.

A similar uncertainty to that which has existed here regarding the circumstances of deposit seems to have existed in Roman law. It has been stated that at

²⁵ *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series), vol. iii, p. 108, and Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, vol. iii (Roll of Justices in Eyre at Bedford, 1227), pp. 151, 152, 176.

²⁶ *Att.-Gen. v. British Museum*, *supra*.

Rome all that was necessary to fulfil this part of the rules was an intentional deposit, its purpose being immaterial. It seems that concealment was a common case, but that pious offerings may have been treated on the same footing.²⁷

If it be assumed, then, that secret deposit is not one of the necessary conditions, a claimant to articles found may be driven to the argument that they are not treasure-trove, because not deposited at all—that is to say, that they were lost or abandoned. It is, perhaps, desirable to emphasize that articles, in order to be treasure-trove, must be *found* concealed.

"It is clear from the very terms of the definition that no direct evidence can be given of the intention to hide or the intention to abandon by a person who is *ex hypothesi* unknown. The direct evidence must necessarily be confined to the discovery . . ." ²⁸ The result is that it is often necessary to draw intricate inferences from the circumstances of the discovery of gold and silver objects. In the Lough Foyle case, mentioned above, the gold ornaments were found so disposed that some were inside others, a position which, it was held, raised an inference of concealment rather than loss or abandonment. As an instance of a probable inference in the opposite direction, reference may be made to a leading case on the right of an owner of land to the possession of things found on that land.²⁹ In this case the plaintiffs, a Water Company, having bought a piece of land with a pond on it, employed a contractor to clean out the pond. The

²⁷ Buckland, *A Text-Book of Roman Law*, pp. 219 ff.

²⁸ *Per* Farwell J. in *Att.-Gen. v. British Museum*, *supra*, at p. 608.

²⁹ *South Staffordshire Water Co. v. Sharman* [1896] 2 Q. B. 44.

contractor, in the process of cleaning, found two gold rings in the mud at the bottom of the pond. It was decided that the Water Company, and not the contractor, were entitled to the possession of the rings. But no reference is made in the report of the case to there being any possibility of the rings being treasure-trove; and it may be assumed that the Crown did not lay claim to them, since the circumstances of the finding raise an obvious inference that they were not intentionally deposited within the meaning of the rule. They were, in fact, pretty clearly lost or abandoned. A few years earlier (in 1891), however, when a labourer hoeing a field in Hertfordshire struck his hoe into a lump of clay which revealed a single gold ring, the Crown claimed the ring as treasure-trove and retained it.³⁰

Perhaps the most elaborate set of inferences ever advanced in the matter of treasure-trove was raised in the case of the Corbridge Gold Find in 1911. The Crown, desiring to put forward a claim, requested an eminent authority, Dr. George Macdonald, to make a report.³¹ One hundred and sixty gold coins of the time of Trajan and Hadrian, with two bronze coins, apparently to protect the gold ones, were found in a "not inelegant" one-handled jug of bronze on the site of the Roman military station of *Corstopitum* (now Corbridge in Northumberland). After the following

³⁰ See *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd Series, vol. xiv, 1891-3, pp. 220-222, and cf. reports of "finds" in the following *Parliamentary Papers*: 496 of 1862, 131 of 1863, 385 of 1865, 465 of 1868.

³¹ See *The Corbridge Gold Find*, reprinted from the *Journal of Roman Studies*, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. viii, pp. 153 ff. and *Proceedings of the London Society of Antiquaries*, May 2, 1912.

considerations had been pointed out by Dr. Macdonald, the coins were surrendered to the Crown as treasure-trove:—(i) the receptacle was standing up; (ii) the gold coins were protected by bronze pieces; (iii) in other respects the coins were not of mixed metals; (iv) the original position, in which the coins had rested, must have been a few inches under the surface of the ground, but under a room in a house (long since destroyed); and (v) the presumable danger of hostile raids on householders in the station, owing to the insecurity of the Roman position in the North at the probable time of the deposit.

This last consideration is of a kind which is more easily made cogent where the instance is comparatively modern. For then, owing to the availability of fuller evidence, the probable surrounding circumstances can more easily be reconstructed. Some of the most obvious instances of this class are provided by discoveries of coins of the early seventeenth century buried in towns which were in a disturbed state during the Civil War.

(3) The third head, into which the most lately-adopted definition of treasure-trove has been divided, is the place of deposit.

The problem of ownership does not depend so much on the question whether a "find" is made in a private or a public place as it does in the case of objects not in the nature of treasure-trove; but it may be suggested that it may depend on whether or not the gold or silver is found above or below the ground.

It has been remarked that, in points such as these, no real help can be obtained from other systems of law. In the case of Roman law, for instance, though many

texts refer to treasure-trove as being found *in* land, the texts of some writers (but a minority) suggest that the rule also applied in the case of treasure being found in a moveable object.³²

In order to elucidate the position in this country the earliest English collections of laws must first be noticed. Chapter X of the *Leges Henrici Primi* (circa 1118) begins: "These are the rights (*iura*) which the English King has alone and above all in his land (*in terra sua*)"; and, among other rights, treasure-trove is mentioned. The *Leges Regis Edwardi Confessoris* state that "*thesauri de terra regis sunt*". But there is more ambiguity when we come to Bracton (circa 1250) and Britton (circa 1290). Bracton speaks of treasure-trove as capable of being found "in whatever place"; but proceeds to refer, in connexion with the crime of fraudulent concealment of treasure-trove, to things hidden under the ground and to the digging up of the ground for treasure. It may be suggested that the words "in whatever place" merely indicate the irrelevance of the question whether the finder finds the treasure on his own land or not. Britton's statement of the law³³ has been quoted in support of an argument that treasure-trove can be either above or below the earth;³⁴ but this view is difficult to accept. He repeatedly refers to treasure-trove as hidden (or found) in the earth; and the words do not appear to be used, as has been suggested, merely by way of illustration of the kind of place in which treasure-trove may be discovered. Later legal writers, such as Rastell (1527)

³² See Buckland, *op. cit.*, and references quoted there.

³³ Ed. Nichols, vol. i, p. 66.

³⁴ *Law Quarterly Review*, vol. xx, p. 30.

and Coke (1634), assert or imply that treasure-trove may be above ground, while Sheppard (1675) expresses some doubt on the subject, and Blackstone (1765) is ambiguous. But it seems more important to see what class of treasure (in respect of place of deposit) was, in fact, claimed in past history than to regard the opinions of law-book writers, especially those who wrote after the thirteenth century, since of that century and the two succeeding centuries there are relevant written records of Crown activities. Admittedly many of these records are administrative and not judicial; but the Crown in administration would not be likely to take or state less than that to which it was entitled.³⁵

A research into records, such as Curia Regis Rolls, Originalia Rolls, Rolls of Parliaments, Calendars of Patent, Close and Fine Rolls and similar printed calendars and publications, has produced thirty-six instances of writs, commissions for inquisitions and the like, in which there is some evidence, one way or the other, whether treasure-trove was taken to include treasure above the earth or not. This set of cases is not, of course, to be regarded as comprehensive in any way; but, in fact, every case met with, which satisfies the above-mentioned requirement, has been included. In thirty-one of these thirty-six cases the expression "under" or "in the ground" is used. In two cases it

³⁵ Writers on the history and practice of the Exchequer do not give much assistance. There is a sentence in the *Dialogus de Scaccario* (1177) stating that "thesaurus effossa tellure vel aliter inventus" should go to the Treasury. A relevant passage will also be found in Madox, *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer* (1711) (2nd ed.), vol. i, p. 342; but it is inconclusive on the question of the place of deposit.

is clear that the treasure-trove (or, at least, the treasure) was above ground, one of these being easily explicable. The remaining three cases are somewhat doubtful.

The two cases of treasure above ground may first be noticed. The first of these occurred in 1276.³⁶ There is recorded a mandate to inquire touching vagabonds and their receivers, who had been concerned in the seizure of one Diey de Hulmo, Jew, of Staunford, and the arrest of his goods, including a sum of money concealed within the walls of his house "which was siezed for that cause or as treasure-trove". So far certainly no inferences can be drawn; but the mandate proceeds to order the delivery of the money to the King's use. It would seem, however, that the record does not necessarily imply that the coins were officially considered to be treasure-trove, especially having regard to the fact that the incident occurred in a period close upon the date of the expulsion of the Jews from England. The other of the two cases occurred in 1442.³⁷ It is equally picturesque. The servants of the parson of Meonstoke were searching after rats in the parsonage malt-store, when they discovered some gold nobles "in holes and other places by the beams". The King waived his right to treasure-trove in favour of the parson in consideration of recent damage by tempest to five houses belonging to the parsonage. Unless the assumption that the malt-store was above ground is incorrect, no explanation can be given of this apparent divergence from practice.

Of the group of three doubtful cases, the first

³⁶ Calendar Patent Rolls, Edward I, vol. i, p. 137.

³⁷ Calendar Patent Rolls, Henry VI, vol. iv, p. 56.

occurred in 1384³⁸—a commission to inquire into the finding of a sum of money “upon Hundesloweheth” (Hounslow Heath, which is a likely spot for such a discovery). But the term “upon” in this context does not negative burial. The second case was that of the discovery of a sum of gold “within the Church of Holt Market”.³⁹ But many things are buried in churches. And the third was a “find” within an old wall of a furnace.⁴⁰

Of the thirty-one cases indicating clearly the practice of confining treasure-trove to discoveries under the ground the majority may easily be traced in calendars of records. One or two of these cases, however, present special features or are particularly worth mention. One, occurring in 1335,⁴¹ is the record of a writ of inquiry regarding “*thesaurum nostrum subterraneum*” (the last of these three words should be noticed), dug up at night by malefactors under a certain pear-tree in the parish of St. Clement Danes. Another case, of 1359,⁴² is that of an acquittal by the King and a reversal of a conviction of concealment of treasure-trove, for the reason that the coins in question were found in a heap of hay in a house *and not underground*. Still another case, of 1364,⁴³ concerned an inquisition in respect of a pot “with money of old sterlings to no small amount”. The inquiry, among other subjects, was to deal with the question “whether it was found below or above ground”.

³⁸ Calendar Patent Rolls, Richard II, vol. ii, p. 426.

³⁹ Calendar Patent Rolls, Henry IV, vol. iii, p. 147.

⁴⁰ Calendar Patent Rolls, Henry V, vol. ii, p. 50.

⁴¹ Pat. 9 Edw. III, p. 2, m. 27 d. in Turr. Lond., printed in Rymer's *Foedera*.

⁴² Calendar Patent Rolls, Edward III, vol. xi, p. 165.

⁴³ Calendar of Fine Rolls, vol. vii, p. 293.

The presumption, therefore, on the facts certainly appears to be in favour of a limitation to underground "finds" as regards the period to the middle or end of the fifteenth century; and there is no known provision or decision of subsequent date varying this principle. But it must be remembered that, in mediæval times, it would be more natural to conceal treasure in the ground than in, say, the walls of a house.

(4) As regards the necessity that the owner of discovered treasure shall be unknown in order that it may be treasure-trove, it can be accepted that the definition implies that the original owner or his representatives must be unknown. When treasure has been anciently deposited, man's mortality and the absence of records usually combine to provide the necessary negative qualification. But it is to be noted that the immortality of a corporation and its facilities for preserving records may serve to substantiate a claim. It may be able, that is to say, to prove an identity in itself of the original owner and the owner at the time of the finding.

* * * * *

No mention has as yet been made of the functions of the coroner regarding treasure-trove. An early statute (of 1276)⁴⁴ provided that a coroner "ought to inquire of treasure that is found, who were the finders and who is suspected thereof, and that may be well perceived where one liveth riotously haunting taverns, and hath done so for long time". But the practice seemed to have grown up of inquisitions including

⁴⁴ 4 Edw. I, stat. 2; the provision in question being re-enacted in substance by section 36 of the Coroners Act, 1887 (50 & 51 Vict. c. 71).

determinations regarding questions of title. In a case of the nineteenth century,⁴⁵ it was decided that the inquisition cannot deal with a controversy between the Crown and an alleged grantee in respect of title to treasure-trove. Another case had decided a few years earlier⁴⁶ that the Crown's title in no way depends on the inquisition of the coroner's jury. But it must be realized that the functions of the coroner's jury, which are exercised with local knowledge, are very valuable, since it is thus that the circumstances of the discovery can be formally recorded. The importance of ascertaining the precise circumstances has already been emphasized.

It follows, then, that the Crown has property in treasure-trove at the time of discovery, or even, perhaps, before it is discovered.⁴⁷ An interesting statement made in the resolutions of the judges in the famous *Case of Saltpetre*,⁴⁸ to the effect that the King may dig for treasure-trove in the land of the subject, "for he hath property", was necessarily based on the principle of ownership prior to discovery. Any subject would be surprised to find such activities being engaged in at the present day; but that this principle was, in fact, acted upon appears to be evidenced by various licences to dig for treasure-trove, especially in the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ The licences were generally on terms that the prospectors should share their "finds" with the King in stated proportions.

⁴⁵ *Att.-Gen. v. Moore* [1893] 1 Ch. 676.

⁴⁶ *R. v. Toole* (1867) 11 Cox C. C. 75.

⁴⁷ Cf. the judgment in *R. v. Toole*, *supra*.

⁴⁸ (1606) 12 Coke Rep. 12.

⁴⁹ See Calendars of State Papers Domestic and Calendars of Treasury Books, *passim*.

Reference to the question of title leads to a short notice of that of burden of proof as between the Crown and an alleged grantee of the franchise of treasure-trove. The title to treasure-trove is *prima facie* in the Crown;⁵⁰ and, as was observed in the Lough Foyle Case (mentioned above), franchises like treasure-trove, which are plucked from the "flowers of the Crown", as opposed to those which have no existence until created, such as fairs and markets, merge in the Crown, if resumed. It was ruled that they cannot pass under a general word in the nature of "franchises", and that they must be specifically mentioned. But as early as 1313 it had been decided⁵¹ by the itinerant justices that "treasure-trove belongs to our lord the King and not to the lord of the franchise except it have been granted to him by special words in his charter of franchise contained". This decision was not quoted in any of the recent cases.

With regard to the concealment of the finding of treasure-trove as a criminal offence, Glanvill and Bracton described it as "*occultatio inuenti thesauri fraudulosa*," and stated the punishment as death or loss of a member. But by 1348 it was, as it is now, a misdemeanour punishable by imprisonment or fine, or both.⁵² A case of the last century⁵³ decided that an averment that treasure-trove had been "unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly" concealed was sufficient, and

⁵⁰ See *Att.-Gen. v. Moore*, *supra*.

⁵¹ Selden Society, vol. xxiv, p. 79; cf. Statham (Corone; Pasche, 22 Edw. III).

⁵² See Year Book 1348, 22 Ass. p. 107, pl. 99.

⁵³ *R. v. Thomas and Willet* (1863) 9 Cox C. C. 376. The facts of this case are entertaining for those who do not know the story.

that fraudulent concealment means concealment wilfully and knowingly effected. But the finder of treasure-trove who does not conceal his discovery does not, in practice, suffer hardship as a result of his honesty, since it has been the practice of the Crown for many years generously to reward law-abiding finders.

* * * * *

The original object of treasure-trove law in this country—and elsewhere for that matter—is, as has been observed, doubtful. But the reason for its survival is definite and indisputable. The interests of the public in “finds” of articles, which have an antiquarian or archaeological value, is clear. This interest may be said to date approximately from the middle of the eighteenth century, at which period the hereditary revenues of the Crown, with their small branches (including treasure-trove), were surrendered by the King to public purposes in return for a fixed annual income known as the Civil List. At the same period the establishment of the British Museum (1753) enabled the interest of the public to be fostered.⁵⁴ In these circumstances and in view of the indefinite nature of the law as it stands at present, there is much to be said for a revision, so as to bring the rules into consonance with modern ideas. What is, after all, a fairly simple requirement could be defined in plain terms.

⁵⁴ The only medieval case revealing any antiquarian interest being officially taken in treasure-trove, which has been found by the present writer, occurred in 1386 (Calendar Patent Rolls, Richard II, vol. iii, p. 162), when Richard II, whose concern for the arts is a matter of historical fact, waived his right to some old sterling, but desired that they should be brought to him that he might look at them.

As is generally known, in some Continental countries the rules regarding the State's rights in movables of antiquarian interest is assimilated to or connected with the law dealing with ancient monuments. It may be that such a course is not desirable here; but it is suggested (i) that the nature of the material covered by the rules should be clearly specified, and in particular the advisability considered of enlarging the scope of them to all objects of antiquarian interest, whether gold or silver, or not; (ii) that all necessity should be removed for discrimination between concealment, intentional deposit, and, perhaps also, loss or abandonment; and (iii) that the question whether or not the objects are to belong to the State, if found above ground, should be authoritatively settled one way or the other.

CECIL S. EMDEN.

V.

THE COINAGE OF EDWARD III FROM 1351.

PART II.

1354-1356 (Series E, F, G).

[SEE PLATES VI (II)-X (VI).]

Series E (beginning probably in January 1354).

THE abundant mules in silver combining Series D and Series E clearly show the position of the latter as directly following the former. Series E must now be described. The initial mark consists of four equilateral triangles joined at their apices only (✠). All the sides are straight so that the cross presents quite a different appearance from the earlier one. It is also perhaps smaller. The denominations struck in this series are gold nobles, which are quite common, and half-nobles, which are exceedingly rare. Of quarter-nobles the reverse only is known, muled always with the obverse of Series B or G. In silver, groats, half-groats, and pennies are all very common. From 1355 onwards there are halfpennies and farthings both of great rarity, the farthing possibly unique.

There was no change in the general type of the coins and there is little except epigraphical details to distinguish them from the coins of Series D. The later G and H described above¹ continue, and on some of the

¹ See part I, p. 16, note.

earlier coins of Series E the R of Series D appears, and the initial mark, on these early coins of Series E, is the only distinguishing character. This R was soon replaced by a form which looks like a P with a bar below it, thus P. This letter is found on a few nobles, groats, and half-groats of London and on a penny of Durham. It has not yet been found on York coins. It was very shortly replaced by a letter which had a bifurcation at the end of the tail (R). This form of the letter is used on all the remaining coins that have the new initial mark, and it disappears concurrently with it. T is practically always unbarred. N is rarely barred. New broken letters appear during this issue. The first one is the letter V in CIVITAS. The strokes rarely join completely at the base. The right-hand stroke has a distinct cut made near the middle of its outer side. The cut does not go completely through the stroke. A careful examination of the cut will show that it is not an accidental break but a carefully cut-out portion. The edges are quite clean and there is no sign of jaggedness. The peculiarity is confined to the one letter. It only occurs on groats and is to be seen both on those of London and of York. The large majority of the London groats of Series E have it and it disappears when Series E comes to an end. Its intent is not known. **Pl. VII (III) No. 7.**

The other letters which appear to have been made from defective punches are U and H, **Pl. VI (II). 5, VII (III). 3, VIII (IV). 3, IX (V). 2, 18, X (VI). 6.** These two letters both show a break in the lower portion of the letter where the front of it is often cut away almost up to the centre of the stroke. As a rule all the Us and Hs on the same side of the coin

are broken. Sometimes the broken letters are on both sides, sometimes on only one side of the coin.

These broken *G*s and *H*s occur on all denominations of coins, both of London and York, except perhaps the quarter-noble. The significance of the break is, like that on the *V*, unknown. The letters cannot well be the quarterly privy marks as the periods they cover are too long. One altered letter occurs on Series E coins. This is the first *E* of the king's name, *PL VII (III). 6, IX (V). 10*. It has already been described and commented on under series D.² The coins of Series E which bear it are the London groats and pennies. The coins showing this *E* are from several dies and the letter itself varies showing that the punches for it also differed. The majority of the coins bearing this mark must for many reasons be placed early in the issue of Series E and it is usually found combined with unbroken *G*s and *H*s. On some groats however these two letters show the characteristic break. An old obverse die with this *E* is also used to produce a groat with the crown as the initial mark on the reverse (muled groats, No. 1 of list).

Annulets were always used as stops on the silver coins, the gold however shows saltires on some coins; this is its first use of saltires since the issues of Series A.

The accounts of the York Royal Mint give us information of the dates during which Series E was in use. It was suggested above (p. 19 of part I) that the quarter from October to December, 1353, was the period when the new initial mark was introduced. The accounts for

² p. 18.

the York mint close on May 29, 1355. Two days later, May 31, the King appointed William Potter of Ipswich Master Moneyer at London, and in the indenture then signed halfpennies were ordered for the first time since 1351. The latest coins which we can place to the Royal mint at York bear the fractured *Q* and *Q*; there are very few of them. The amount of silver coined during the five months previous to the closing of the mint was only £1,892 5s. 9*d*. No halfpennies of York are known. London probably continued for a short time under the new indenture to strike coins of Series E, including halfpennies. The majority of the coins have the broken *Q* and *Q* but otherwise have no peculiarities. Fairly large quantities of these coins have come down to us, but Dec. 1355 probably saw the end of this series. The accounts for gold during its issue bear out the above conclusions. The end of the year 1355 shows a marked drop in the quantity of gold coined and this would well agree with the scarcity of the nobles which have come down to us bearing the next initial mark, the Crown.

Nobles, halves and quarters, and silver groats, half-groats, pence, halfpence, and farthings are all known of Group E. The nobles, groats, half-groats, and pennies are abundant. Only one half-noble is in evidence and the obverse for the quarter-noble has still to be found. The halfpennies are rare. The farthing is only known from a single specimen and on it the broken *Q* appears. The obverse reading is *EDWARDVS REX*. The reverse *QIVITVS LONDON*. The *N*s are unfortunately illegible.

The minor varieties will be found in the lists. There are, however, a few more marked features that may be

noticed here. Some of the groats have a well-marked fleur-de-lis on the King's breast in place of the ordinary trefoil, **Pl. VII (III). 9.** On a few the ordinary trefoil is replaced by a small lis on all the arches usually fleured, **Pl. VIII (IV). 8.** Some of the groats read **LONDON.** Most of the pennies in common with those of Group A, B, C, and D have an annulet in the centre of each group of pellets on the reverse, **Pl. IX (V). 11,** but we now meet with a few on which this annulet is absent, **Pl. IX (V). 12.** These are probably late coins, as with subsequent initial marks it does not reappear as part of the type of the coin. Mules occur at both ends of the series, viz. with Group D and with Group F. When coins of Group D are absent the muling occurs with Group C. Thus a noble is known, obverse Group C, reverse Group E; but as an obverse for the noble of Group D is unknown, this mule is not surprising. The half-noble shows the same variation and also the quarter-noble, coins of these denominations with the broken cross as initial mark were either not struck or struck in very small quantities.

Groats and half-groats are in evidence as mules with Group D. The pennies probably follow suit, but as the initial mark is only on the obverse, and there is no distinctive letter on the reverse, they cannot be recognized. The late mules connected with Group E show nobles with reverse of Group F and also Group G, groats and half-groats with Group F and Group G. Pennies with F.

The York coins follow the same lines as those of London. No groats are known with fleurs-de-lis on the tressures; a York half-groat, **Pl. X (VI). 5,** is known

with a fleur-de-lis on the breast; a similar fleur appears on a groat at London. Groats and half-groats of York are known as mules with Series D.

The mint accounts for York cease after May 29, 1355, and two days later a new indenture was signed with William Potter of Ipswich as Master Moneyer in place of Henry de Bruselee. The Royal mint of York was presumably closed then. This will account for the relative rarity of York coins of Series E with the broken Ω and Θ . As the Royal mint was closed in May, 1355, it is not surprising that we have no York coins of Series F. The archbishop's mint seems also to have been dormant as there is a total absence of York coins of Series E with the quatrefoil.

The corresponding dates of the indenture with William Potter and of the closure of the York accounts throws some light on the introduction of the broken Ω and Θ at London. As we have so few York coins showing this variation, it is reasonable to suppose that the mark had only recently been introduced in London and York.

There are varieties of London coins of Series E which do not occur at York and the probability is that they were varieties struck in London after the closure of the York mint. These must have been issued under William Potter's indenture. One new denomination was introduced in this indenture, viz. the halfpenny. None had been struck since the reform of the coinage in 1351. This halfpenny is of the usual type. The obverse legend is $+\Theta DWTRDVS \circ REX \circ \Omega$ with the usual annulet stops. The reverse reads $QIVITTS LORDOR$.
PL. IX (V). 16.

It will at once be noticed that this coin has round

Rs, whereas the large majority of coins of Series E bear the square unbarred Roman letter. It is now suggested that this halfpenny is copied from the halfpenny of the florin type. The legends are the same, the round R is also. The new halfpenny, however, is made with new irons of a somewhat different form from those used on the earlier coin. In many cases these new irons entirely agree with those generally used on Series E, thus the G is a Series E letter, and some of these halfpennies have the characteristic break in the letter. The R is also that used on Series E. This is not the only example of copying an earlier model, as the reverse of the half-noble shows. As with the halfpenny no reverses of the half-noble were made after perhaps October, 1351, so that when new reverses were required the die-sinker copied the old reverse. He engraved a round R as on the example before him and he mistook the curious R of FVRORR for an R. The result is that the two known reverses of half-nobles of Series E both read RVRORR. The G, G, R and R are true Series E letters.

The stops on the coins of Series E are always annulets on the silver and the earlier gold nobles. The later nobles have saltire stops. This was one source of confusion in the classification attempted some years ago (Balcombe Find). It was then thought that all the coins with saltire stops which were issued before 1360, both silver and gold, should be placed together.

A single stop is as a rule found between each word of the legends and occasionally at the beginning or end of the legend. Some groats show an annulet between the R and D of the king's name and others an annulet between F and R of FRTH. These annulets

are not simply misplaced, as the annulet is found in its proper place also.

Some words of both legends are occasionally found with a letter missing or with a wrong letter. The King's name is sometimes spelt **EDWTD**.

TTO for **TTS** is found on some York groats and **TOR** for **TTS** on some London half-groats and Durham pennies. In some cases more than one die is known with this difference. The **M** for **N** in London has already been referred to; it is frequently met with in Series E.

Before leaving Series E some mention must be made of some rare London groats which show a totally different obverse from the regular series of this class. The differences are entirely in style, not type, and are so pronounced that at one time the coins were looked upon with considerable doubt. Head, crown, fleurs, tressure, and legend all appear to have been made with quite different irons from the ordinary issues. There are moreover two distinct obverse dies, both showing this peculiar style. The reverses, except for a few somewhat abnormally shaped letters, are true Series E reverses.

Series F, beginning Jan. or Feb. 1356.

The use of the crown as initial mark is the characteristic of this very short period. Its position in the series of the coins of Edward III is quite certain owing to the presence of many muled coins combining the crown on one side with the cross characteristic of Series E on the other side, and a further series combining the crown with a later cross. Whether the crown has any special

significance it is difficult to say. It can only have been used for a very short time as the coins bearing it show but little variation, and the small varieties that there are may possibly be for some other purpose than marks for trials of the pyx. William Potter's indenture of May 31, 1355, was the working agreement for the coinage until it was superseded on Jan. 27, 1356, by a new indenture with Hugh de Wichyngham of London (Close Roll). The new indenture provided coins of the same weight and fineness as the previous one. Mailles or halfpennies were again ordered. The amounts of silver and gold struck were (Dec. 24, 1355, to Nov. 6, 1356), silver £22,644, gold £551.

It is possible, if not probable, that the coins with the crown were commenced under this new indenture. The denominations we now know are gold nobles and silver groats, half-groats, pence, and half-pence. The nobles as compared with those of the earlier Series B, C, and E are of considerable rarity. The halfpenny is represented by the obverse of a single specimen which has a reverse of Series G. **Pl. IX (V). 17.** The other silver coins are not uncommon.

When the coins of Series F were designed, many of the letters were made of a different form. The old flat topped **G** and **H** are now replaced by more elegant and rounded forms. The **R** with the little groove in the tail also disappears, and is replaced by an **R** in which the lower part of the tail points towards the following letter. The **V** is of a new form and much more graceful.

The stops on the silver coins are always annulets. The obverses of the nobles always have saltire stops, as did both sides of the latest nobles of Series E. It

would however appear from the examination of all the available specimens of the nobles that on the reverse, the side which alone bears the crown mark, annulet stops are invariable. As the earliest nobles of Series G always have annulet stops and introduce a new form of the letter X, the obverses of nobles of Series F may be distinguished from those of Series E by the letters Q and H (straight-topped in Series E, round-topped in Series F) and R (omitting the stroke which hangs down from its tail in Series E), and from the early nobles of Series G by the letter X and the stops (saltires in Series F, annulets in Series G). The later coins of Series G, on which saltire stops are again used, are different both in style and in lettering.

Broken letter punches were again used in Series F and again the same letters Q and H were chosen. The break now involves the top curve and the upper part of the vertical stroke. PL VI (II). 8, VIII (IV). 7. These letters can thus be easily distinguished from those of Series E where the break was below. At present they have been found only on the obverse of nobles of Series F. The importance of recognizing them cannot be over-estimated as they are almost the only means we have of distinguishing the side of a coin which bears no initial mark such as the obverse of the noble and the reverse of the penny. Series F, which was probably in issue for three or not more than six months, is so frequently muled with Series E and with the issue which followed F that the recognition of the side of a coin which has no initial mark becomes a matter of some difficulty, especially in reference to the coins muled with the succeeding series. The Ω on Series F is sometimes found broken, the left foot being

the position chosen for the break. A break at the top of D occurs at the same time as that of Q and G. The short duration of Series F probably accounts for the absence of varieties.

The obverses of the noble vary in the number of fleurs-de-lis in the first quarter of the shield, 3 or 4. The ropes also vary in number from 1 to 3 in front, and 2 to 3 at the stern. The G in the centre of the reverse is always large, much larger than that found in the same position on Series E. The lis is always in the second quarter over the lion's head. Occasionally an annulet is found at the end of the reverse legend.

The groats in design present no new features and very few minor varieties. The old reading *LONDON* again occurs.

The half-groats show a new variation in that the tressure on the obverse is invariably fleured with true fleurs-de-lis, instead of the little trefoils so regular on the previous issues. Examination of the lists will show how little variety there is in these coins.

The pennies of Series F show a somewhat different bust which appears to have been more carefully planned than those of the former groups. The eyes are better put in and the whole bust is perhaps a little larger. On the reverse of the pennies the annulet in each of the four groups of pellets does not now appear.

The unique halfpenny bears the crown mark on the obverse with the legend *GDWTRDVS REX*. There is probably an annulet stop between the words. The reverse reads *DIVITIS LONDON*. PL. IX. (V) 17.

This coin greatly resembles the halfpennies of Series

E, and was the means by which the latter were first identified by Mr. Earle Fox as belonging to the series where they are now placed. It would perhaps be better described as a mule F/G, as the reverse shows a tiny annulet outside, and on the left of, the group of pellets in the quarter below LOR. On the larger coins the annulet outside the group of pellets only occurs with the initial mark of Series G.

ACQUITTANCES AND GRANTS TO MASTER MONEYSERS.

[Patent Roll, 1350-4, p. 375. Dec. 14th, 1352, Westminster.] Whereas it appears by a search of the rolls of the exchequer that divers assays of the moneys of gold and silver struck in the Tower of London at the time when Henry de Briseleye and John de Cicestre were masters of the same moneys, to wit from the 25th of October in the 25th year to November 24th last, both days included, were made at the Exchequer, and by those assays it has been found that the moneys of all that time were good and lawful according to the form, force, and effect of the indenture made between the king and the masters, as the treasurer and barons of the exchequer have certified unto the chancery; the king, as agreed by the covenants in the indenture, acquits the masters of all things touching the moneys for the said time. . . . [P. 426, April 12th, 1353, Westminster] and between Nov. 26th and April 3 (added to the date after 24 Nov. to the above).

[p. 482. July 18th, 1353, Westminster.] The treasurer and barons of the exchequer having at the king's command certified him in the chancery that, by assay made at the exchequer of the moneys of gold and silver struck in the Tower of London in the time when Henry de Briseleye was master of the said moneys, to wit between the 11th April and 13th July last, it has been found that the moneys are good and lawful in alloy and weight according to the form of the indenture made between the king and the said Henry, the king pursuant to the form of such indenture acquits him in respect of things relating to the said moneys for the whole time aforesaid.

[p. 484. July 10, 1353, Westminster.] Acquittance given to John (de Cicestre). This entry has nothing to do with

the money of the last entry as John de Cicestre had ceased to be a master before the date of that entry. The indenture for the York coinage of July 18 mentions only Henry de Briseleye as master in London.

[p. 529. Nov. 24, 1353.] Acquittance to Henry de Briseleye in respect of moneys struck between 17 July and 15 Nov. last.

[Patent Roll, 1354-8, p. 7. Feb. 26, 1354. Westminster.] Acquittance to Henry de Briseleye for money made between 23 Nov. and 22 Feb. last.

[p. 89. July 14, 1354, Westminster.] Acquittance to Henry de Briseleye for money made between 3 March and 12 July last.

[p. 238. May 21, 1355, Tower.] Grant, during pleasure, to Henry de Brisele of the office of changer and assayer of the kings moneys in his changes in the Tower of London and elsewhere, to hold as Richard de Grymesley, now deceased, held the office with the accustomed wages and fees.

[p. 467. Nov. 7.] Grant to Hugh de Wyehynghem of the office of changer, &c., in place of Henry de Brisele.

THE MINT ACCOUNTS FROM MAY 1353 TO NOVEMBER 1356.

	LONDON.					
	Gold.			Silver.		
	lb.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
May 7, 1353 to Dec. 24, 1353	3,181	13	8	53,861	12	7½
Dec. 24, 1353 to Sep. 29, 1354	8,300	11	1½	37,389	1	11½
Sept. 30, 1354 to April 5, 1355	2,436	9	3	14,021	7	4½
April 5, 1355 to May 31, 1355	1,036	7	8½	4,862	9	3½
May 31, 1355 to Dec. 24, 1355	2,177	3	5½	19,750	19	2½
Dec. 24, 1355 to Nov. 6, 1356	551	17	11	22,664	4	6½

YORK.

	Silver.		
	l.	s.	d.
July 14, 1353 to Dec. 24, 1354	18,761	6	9½
Dec. 25, 1354 to May 29, 1355	1,892	5	9

During this period Henry de Briselee was master until May 31, 1355, William Potter until January 25, 1354, and Hugh de Wyehingham until September 28, 1356.

Series G, *circa* April, 1356.

It has been remarked previously that the duration of Series F (initial mark crown) was very short, and the lists show that there are hardly any variations in the coins. This is further borne out by the very extensive series of mules which bear on one side the crown mark, and on the other the new initial cross which replaced the crown. This cross (PL. VIII. 8, 9, *rev.*) was continued on the coins until 1361; the ends pointing outwards are all more or less curved. In worn coins the cross is apt to be confused with the two earlier crosses of Series B and E; the engravers used with this new cross a fount of letters which at once distinguishes the coins from the two early series, but unfortunately these letters so resemble those on Series F as to introduce considerable confusion on coins which only bear an initial mark on one side, viz. nobles and pennies. The lettering, like the cross, continued with very little alteration till 1361. The type of the coins was unchanged, but some of the smaller details were altered. The head on the groats is somewhat smaller, and the arches above the crown are again fleured. An annulet is placed under the bust on the obverse, and in one quarter of the reverse, either outside or between the pellets. The denominations of this series are gold nobles, halves and quarters, and silver groats, half-groats and pennies. The gold coins are a little difficult to allocate to the precise issues in silver, because they have not all the small variations in lettering in agreement with the silver, and also because the privy marks on the silver and the gold do not always correspond.

On Series G we get the first definite evidence of the quarterly privy marks ordered by the indentures. There is a complete set of groats which only differ from each other in the quarter in which the annulet is placed between the pellets on the reverse: (1) under the syllable **QIVI**; (2) under **TTTS**; (3) under **LOII**; (4) under **DOII**. In every other respect the coins agree with each other. The annulet is under the bust on the obverse of all of them. The complete sets of the half-groats and pennies are also known.

With these sets of coins before us, there can be no doubt that they represent a year's output in quarterly varieties. We cannot at present be certain to which year these coins belong or whether they were issued in the order as numbered. This set was probably preceded by some trial reverses on which the annulet was placed just outside the group of pellets instead of between them. On the groats this appears in the quarter under **QIVI**, and on the half-groats in the **LOII** quarter. The position outside the group of pellets made the mark perhaps a little more visible, and somewhat detracts from the uniformity of the design. One die only is known for the groats, and one for the half-groats, though several coins of each set are known. There is a penny, probably belonging to this curious series, with a pellet or possibly a filled-in annulet outside the group of pellets in the quarter under **QIVI**. The groats of this unusual variety bear crown-marked obverses. The half-groats show obverses of Series E and F. The pennies show the true obverse of Series G. These reverses were probably issued before the corresponding obverses with the same initial cross and the annulet under the bust were supplied,

as there seem fairly large quantities of mules known, the obverses of which are those of Series F with the crown mark. Groats, half-groats, and pennies are fairly abundant in this series of mules and the peculiar reverses with the annulet outside the group of pellets are almost entirely mules.

The coins of this series show much variety in the letter N. The reverses muled with the crown commonly have this letter in London reversely barred (N), less commonly normally barred (N). When the new obverse was issued with these corresponding reverses the Ns were again either normally or reversely barred. These obverses and reverses were apparently mated anyhow, with the result that the Ns frequently vary on the two sides of the same coin. Finally an unbarred N was used on the reverse. The letter G, particularly that in GIVI on the groats, also varies. It is at first like the corresponding letter found on Series F which has a flat top, later it is replaced by one which shows a distinct groove where the curved portion of the letter joins the upright. All the F/G mules show the earlier form and naturally many of the true coins of Series G also show it. The half-groats show something of the same sort of variation, but the lettering is much more mixed, owing no doubt to the difference in size of the letters of the inner legend of the reverse. On the groats they are much larger than the letters of the outer legend and therefore had to be specially made, whereas on the half-groats all the letters were the same size so that any letter punch could be used indiscriminately for inner or outer legend. The pennies fall into line, as far as they go, with the larger coins. Like the groats, both half-groats and pennies

are extensively muled with crown-marked obverses. Practically all these early mules of Series G have the annulet in the quarter under CIVI. If this was a privy mark, there seems at first to have been some uncertainty whether it should be placed within or without the pellets.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

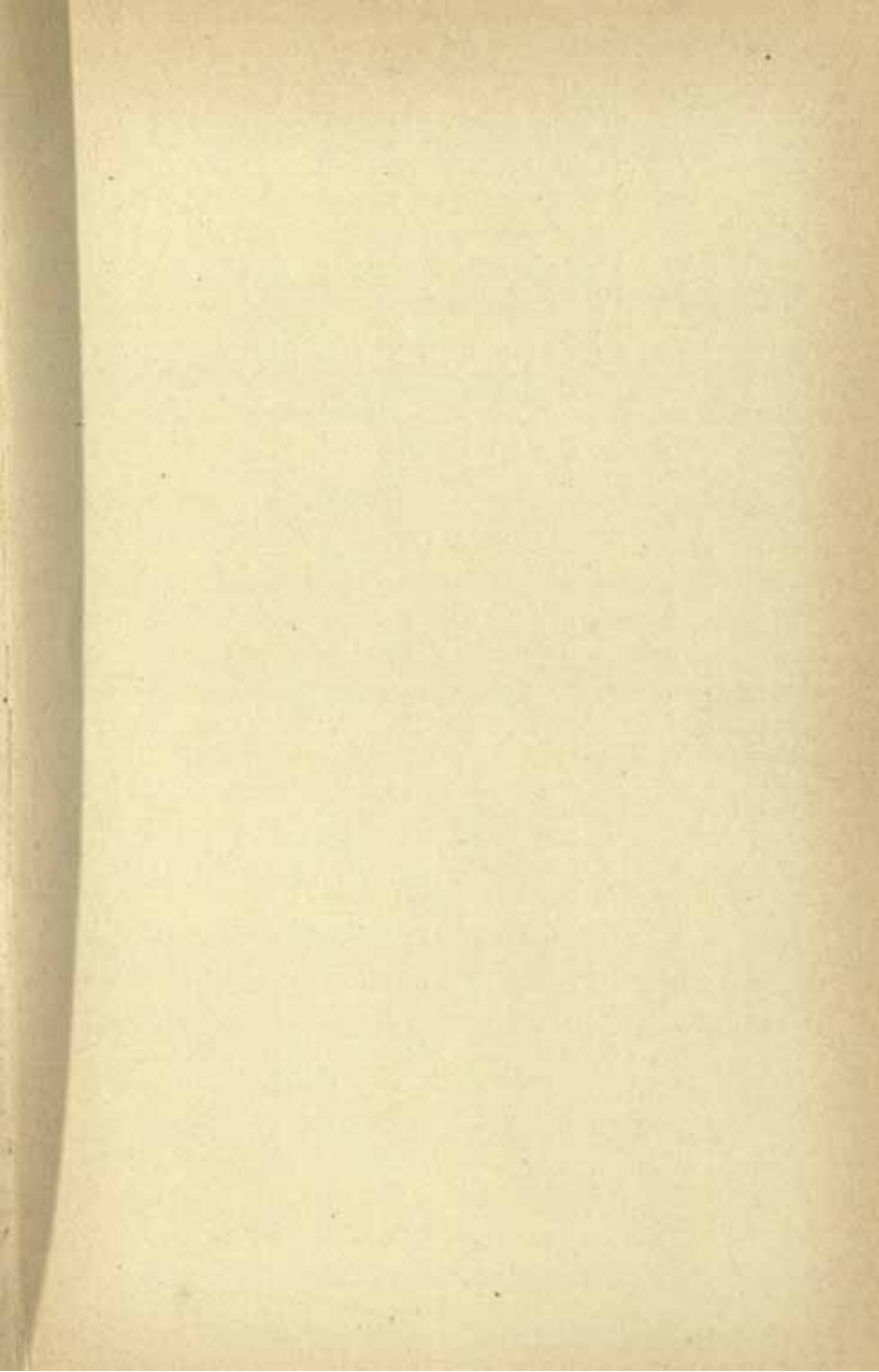


TABLE OF DIES OF NOBLES

Period I (1353-1356)

(For descriptions see following pages)

[illegible]

NOBLES SERIES E. F. AND MULES E. F. G.

Obverses.

Series E.

Q.	°G/DWTRD°DBI°GPT°PAX°THIGL°7°FEITHG°D·hIB.	P=R	2	2	2	0
R.	R R R R R H (no hIB). Normal R		1	2	2	1
S.	°G/DWTRD°DBI°GRT°RAX°THIGL°7°FRTHG°D·hY. Hs		1	2	2	1
T.	G/ H D·hIB		2	2	2	1
U.	DhIB		2	2	2	1
V.	G/DWTRD°DBI°GRT°RAX°THIGL°7°FRTHG°D·hI		1	2	2	2
W.	°G/DWTRD°DBI°GRT°REX°THIGL°7°FRTHG°D·hY-B		1	2	2	1
X.			1	2	2	0
Y.	DhY-·B		1	2	2	0
Z.	G/DWTD DhY-B		2	2	2	1
AA.	G/DWTRD		1	2	2	1
AB.	G/D E·RTHG°D·hY-B.		1	2	2	1
AC.	°G/DWTRD°DBI°GRT°RAX°THIGL°7°FRTHG°D·hY-B. * over sail	° over sail, E in Franc	0	2	2	0

		Fleurs on ship (single lions between).			
AD. *Q/DVTRD•DQI•GRT•RQX		1	2	2	0
AE. Q/DWTRD	E•RTIIQ	0	2	2	0
AF. *Q/	FRTHQ	1	2	1	1
AG. Q/	zDhYB	0	2	2	0
AH. Q/DWTRD•DQI•GRT•RQX•THGL•7•FRTHQ•DhY•B.	Q Q broken	0	2	2	0
AI. Q/DWTRD•DQI•GRT•RQX•THGL•7•FRTHQ•DhY•B.	Q Q broken	0	2	2	0
AJ. Q/DWTRD•DQI•GRT•REX•THGL•7•FRTHQ•DhY•B.	Q Q broken	0	1	1	0
Series F.					
AK. *Q/DWTRD•DQI•GRT•RQX•THGL•7•FRTHQ•DhY•B		0	2	2	0
AL. *Q/DWTRD•DQI•GRT•RQX•THGL•7•ERTIIQ•DhY•B.	Q for Q	0	2	2	0
AM. /QDWTRD•DQI•GRT•REX•THGL Y•B		0	2	2	0
AN. Q/DWTRDDQI•GRT•REX•THGL•7•FRTHQ•DhY•B		0	1	1	0
AO. *Q/DWTRD•DQI•GRT•RQX•THGL•7•FRTHQ•DhY•B.	Q Q D broken	0	2	2	0
AP.	Dh••YB. Q Q D broken	0	2	2	0
AQ.	FRTHQ•DhY•B. Q Q D broken	0	2	2	0

Series G.

	Fleurs on ship (single lions between).
AR. °B/DWTRD°DBI°GRT°RGXTIIGL°7°FRTHIIO°DhY-B	0 2 2 0
AS. °Q/B RQX°THIGL °DhY-B	0 1 1 0
AT. °B/DWTRD°DBI°GRT°RGX°THIGL°7°FRTHIIO°DhY-B	0 1 1 0

Ropes to stern and prow are 3-3 on all dies except AD and AO (3-2); AJ, AP, AR (3-1); AF, AH, AI (3-0); AN (2-3); AS, AT (2-1).

The number of fleurs-de-lis in the first quarter of the shield is 3, except on Q, U, W (4); R, S, AS (5).

The quatrefoils on stern and fore turrets are:—Q (4-5), R (4-4), S to V (3-4), W (4-4), X-Y (3-3), Z (3-4), AA-AB (3-3), AC-AE (3-4), AF (4-4), AG-AI (3-4), AJ (4-4), AK (3-4), AL (3-3), AM-AN (3-4), AO (3-3), AP-AR (3-4), AS (3-3), AT (4-4).

Bowsprit occurs on Q, R, S, T, U, V, AM, AO, AP, AQ, AR, AS.

NOBLES, SERIES E, F, AND MULES E, F, G.

Reverses.

The normal legend is $\text{IHQ TTVT} \epsilon \Omega \text{ TRNIGIHS P } \Omega \epsilon \text{DIV} \Omega \text{ ILLORV} \Omega \text{ IBTT}$. With one stop, annulet, or saltire between each word. ϵ small or large in centre.

Series E.

38. $\text{IHQ} \circ \text{TTVT} \epsilon \Omega \circ \text{TRNIGIHS} \circ \text{P} \circ \Omega \epsilon \text{DIV} \Omega \circ \text{ILLORV} \Omega \circ \text{IBTT} \circ$

Small ϵ in centre. $\#$
Normal R of Series E.

39. $\circ \text{IBTT}$

No lis in quarter. Normal R
of Series E.

40. IBTT

$\#$
R of Series D.

41. $\Omega \epsilon \text{DIV} \Omega$

$\circ \text{IBTT} \circ$

$\#$
Normal R.

42. $\circ \text{IBTT}$

$\#$

43.

$\#$

44.

$\#$

Another die,

ϵ with dot in it. $\#$

45.

$\#$

46.

$\circ \text{IBT}$

This die used to produce
Mule L/37, Series C/E.

47.	lh <i>cl</i>	TR <i>an</i> ciens	oIB <i>tt</i>	†
48.				†
				This die was used to produce a mule P/48 in Marno. coll. Series C/E.
49.			oIB <i>tt</i> °	†
50.				†
51.				†
				No stops.
52.	TV <i>te</i> TR		oIB <i>tt</i>	†
				No stop after TV <i>te</i> TR.
53.	lh <i>cl</i>		TR <i>an</i> ciens	†
				No stop before IB <i>tt</i> .
54.			IB <i>tt</i> °	†
55.				†
56.	lh <i>cl</i> ·TV <i>te</i> TR·TR <i>an</i> ciens·P·TR <i>an</i> ciens·ll <i>or</i> v <i>ir</i> ·IB <i>tt</i>			†
				Q for Q and for S in Tranciens.
57.	TV <i>te</i> TR·TR <i>an</i> ciens . . TR <i>an</i> ciens			†
				Q for Q.
58.	lh <i>cl</i> ·TV <i>te</i> TR·TR <i>an</i>			†
				M barred in Tranciens.
59.			IB <i>tt</i> °	†
60.	lh <i>cl</i> ·TV <i>te</i> TR·TR <i>an</i> ciens·P·TR <i>an</i> ciens·ll <i>or</i> v <i>ir</i> ·IB <i>tt</i>			†
				Q and Q broken.

61. $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ and $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ broken. Another die as 60.
62. $\overset{\#}{\text{IhQ}}$
 Q and $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ broken.
63. $\overset{\#}{\text{IhQ}}$
 Q and $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ broken. Another die as 60.
64. $\overset{\#}{\text{TVVTQ}}\Omega$
 V of Autem altered.
65. $\overset{\#}{\text{IhQTVVTQ}}\Omega$
Letters not broken. No annulet after $\overset{\#}{\text{IhQ}}$.
66. $\overset{\#}{\text{IhQ}}\cdot\overset{\#}{\text{TVVTQ}}\Omega\cdot\text{TRTHIQIENS}\cdot\text{P}\cdot\overset{\#}{\text{MEDIV}}\Omega\cdot\text{ILLORV}\Omega\cdot\text{IBTT}$
 Q $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ broken.
67. $\overset{\#}{\text{IhQ}}\cdot\overset{\#}{\text{TVVTQ}}\Omega\cdot\text{TRTHIQIENS}\cdot\text{P}\cdot\overset{\#}{\text{MEDIV}}\Omega\text{ILLOPV}\Omega\cdot\text{IBTT}$
Small $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ in centre. $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ broken.
68. $\overset{\#}{\text{IhQ}}\cdot\overset{\#}{\text{TVVTQ}}\Omega\cdot\text{TRTHIQIENS}\cdot\text{P}\cdot\overset{\#}{\text{MEDIV}}\Omega\cdot\text{ILLORV}\Omega\cdot\text{IBTT}^\circ$
Small $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ in centre. $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ broken.
69. $\overset{\#}{\text{MEDIV}}\Omega\cdot\text{ILLORV}\Omega\cdot\text{IBTT}$
Small $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ with dot. $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ broken.
70. $\overset{\#}{\text{IhQ}}\cdot\overset{\#}{\text{TVVTQ}}\Omega\cdot\text{TRTHIQIENS}\cdot\text{P}\cdot\overset{\#}{\text{MEDIV}}\Omega\cdot\text{ILLORV}\Omega\cdot\text{IB}$
Small $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ broken.
71. Series F (initial mark crown).
 $\text{ILLORV}\Omega\text{IBTT}^\circ$
72. $\overset{\#}{\text{IhQ}}\cdot\overset{\#}{\text{TVVTQ}}\Omega\cdot\text{TRTHIQIENS}\cdot\text{P}\cdot\overset{\#}{\text{MEDIV}}\Omega\cdot\text{ILLORV}\Omega\cdot\text{IBTT}$
Large $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$.
73. $\overset{\#}{\text{IBTT}^\circ}$
Large $\overset{\#}{\text{Q}}$ in centre.
" "
"

Series F.

74.	hQ°KVTΘM°TRTHIGIHS°P°MΘDIVM°ILLORVMIBKT°	Large Θ. One L in ILLORVM, no stop after.	+
75.	ILLORVM°IBKT	Large Θ. No stop after MΘDIVM.	+
75.*		Large Θ. Another die.	+
76.	ILLORVMIBKT	Large Θ. No stop before IBKT.	+
77.	As 71, another die.	Large Θ.	+
78.	KVTΘM	Q for Θ in KVTΘM. No stop before IBKT.	+
79.	ILLORVMIBKT	Large Θ. Legend begins at left side. No stop before IBKT.	+
80.	hQ°KVTΘM°TRTHIGIHS°P°MΘDIVM°ILLORVM°IBKT	Large Θ in centre. The die is a variant from 72.	+
81.	ILLORVMIBKT°	Large Θ in centre. No stop before IBKT.	+
82.	ILLORVM°IBKT	Large Θ in centre. Another die variant from 72.	+

Series G.

83. IhQ°KVTθΩ°TRNIGIθHS°P°ΩθDIVΩ°ILLORVΩ°IBTT Large θ in centre. ‡
84. IhQ°KVTθΩ°TRNIGIθHS°P°ΩθDIVΩ°ILLORVΩ°IBTT Small θ in centre. ‡
Q for θ in TVTθΩ.
85. IhQ°KVTθΩ°TRNIGIθHS°P°ΩθDIVΩ°ILLORVΩ°IBTT Small θ in centre. ‡
Q and θ broken at back.
No stop after ΩθDIVΩ.
86. ΩθDIVΩ°ILLORVΩ°IBTT° Small θ in centre. ‡
Q and θ broken at back.
Q and θ broken at back.
- 86.* TRNIGIθH°S°ΩθDIVΩ (no P) Small θ in centre. ‡
Letters not broken. Saltire stops,
No stop before IBTT.
87. IhQ°KVTθΩ°TRNIGIθHS°P°ΩθDIVΩ°ILLORVΩ°IBTT Small θ in centre. ‡
Q and θ broken above some-
what like the crown break.
88. *IBTT Small θ in centre. ‡
Q and θ broken at back.
No stop before IBTT.
89. ILLORVΩIBTT Small θ in centre. ‡
Letters not broken.
90. *IBTT Large θ in centre. ‡
θ for Q in IhQ. * before P.
A pellet either side of the
top lis.
91. Ihθ TRNIGIθHS° *YBTT

92.	IhG	xx	*IBTT	Small G in centre. † G for Q in IhG. ‡ before P. A pellet either side of the top lis.
93.		xx		Another die as 92. Lettering irregular in size.
94.	IhGTVTGMCTRTUIGIHS:P*QDDIVMILLORVQZIBTT			Large G in centre. † G for Q in IhG. No pellets at sides of top lis.

Half-nobles, Series E.

1. $\Theta / DWTR \cdot DEL \cdot GRG \cdot XTUGL \cdot 7F \cdot RTUQ \cdot D$, ropes 3-1. lis 3, lis, lion, lis, lion (lis?), quatre-foils 3-3. bowsprit. Θ , Θ broken.
- $DQMREDCIIE:RVORRGE:TVO:TROVTS:M\Theta$ Θ in centre. + The lettering except the round R is of Series E. R for F in FVROR Θ . Θ for Θ in $m\Theta$. Weight 59.5 grs. (L.A.L.).

Quarter-Nobles. Series E.

No obverses are known of Series E or F and no coins of F at all.

Mules. G. E.

1.	GDVTRR·CTNGLE·7·FRNCD·D·hY 4 lis in 1st quarter.	Series G.			
2.	Same die.				

The list of nobles runs to considerable length. Thirty obverses are described, of which 20 belong to Series E, 7 to Series F, and 3 to Series G. Fifty-six reverses were used with these obverses of which 33 belong to Series E, 12 to Series F, and 11 to Series G. The period of issue is about 3 years and it is somewhat surprising that such a number of dies should have been required to produce a coinage of such short duration. The life of the dies must have been a very short one, and this is borne out by the rarity of more than one coin from the same pair of dies. Mr. Brooke's analysis of the Earl Raynham hoard also shows this. In this hoard there were many coins from the same die on one side, but hardly any from the same pair of dies. The much longer duration of Series E accounts for the larger number of dies described. The number of obverse dies of Series E when compared with the number of reverse dies, shows that the proportion of 1 obverse to 2 reverses as ordered, is very nearly correct. The same holds for Series F. The finding of only 2 more reverses would make this complete. This rather looks as if the list was nearly complete in itself. The list only includes dies of Series G in so far as muling is concerned with Series E and F.

The table, rather than the lists, adds considerably to our knowledge of Series F. It brings out clearly what a Series F obverse ought to be as compared with Series G. It may be remembered that the lettering on the F coins is almost precisely like that on the G coins, the only difference being perhaps in the form of the X.

Obverses AK, AL, AM, and AN all present the new lettering with the rounder G and G of Series F, in

other respects they almost exactly resemble the later varieties of Series E.

Obverses AO, AP, and AQ all show the broken α and Θ of Series F.

When the coins AR/78, AR/80, AS/81, and AT/82 were examined, a new X was noticed and annulet stops replaced the saltire stops of the dies AK to AQ. The α and Θ were not broken. They could only be placed before the broken α and Θ of Series F, where they would have divided two otherwise exact series, or after Series F. An examination of other nobles of Series G shows conclusively that these three dies belong to that series and not to Series F. They only came in to the table because here they are muled with reverses bearing the crown initial mark. We now know for the first time the pattern of the obverse of the early Series G coin, although it has no mark. We are also certain now of the obverse of the crown coins. They must bear saltire stops. Indeed all the nobles of Series F have saltire stops on the obverse and annulet stops on the reverse. This is certainly not what we expected.

Series E. Groats.

The general type remains unchanged. The general legend is EDWARD D G REX ANGL 7 FRANC D hYB. An annulet is placed between each word. The reverse legend is POSVI DEVM PDIKTORVM MEV. Again an annulet between the words. That after Posui is sometimes on the right and sometimes on the left of the bar of the cross, very rarely in both positions. The inner legend is LONDON CIVITAS where *London* is under *posui*, but occasionally *civitas* is under *posui*, in which case the legend would read CIVITAS LONDON. Stops are not normally placed between the words of the inner legend. The initial mark is on both sides.

1. EDWTRD=D=G=PAX°ANGL°7°FPTND=D=hYB

(R as printed.)

2.

F°PTND

3.

4. Same where visible.

5.

6.

DhYB

7.

hYB°

The following have square E in EDWTRD.

8. EDWTRD (old form of R)

F°PTNDdhYB

9. EDWTRD

FRAND°DhYB

10. EDWTRD

D°hYB

11. EDWTR°D

12. Obv. die of 10.

13. No stops.

14. EDWTRD

DhYB

Q and Q broken.

15. Same die as 14.

16. EDVTRD

The following have the normal Q in EDWTRD.

17. EDWTRD

DhYB

1. POSVI^o/DEVS^oTK/DIVTOR/AM^oMEV, LONDOH CIVITAS
(R of Series D.)

2.

3. POSVI/^o

4. Same die used to produce a mule with Series D. LONDDH
O altered.

5. (peculiar R)

6. V broken.

7. V broken.

8. POSVI/^o R? TTS

9. POSVI/^o V broken. TTS

10.

11. No stops.

LONDON

12. POSVI/^o

LONDON V broken.

13.

LONDON

14.

LONDON V broken.

15.

LONDON V broken.

16. Same die as 15.

17. Same die as 15.

18.

D°hYB

19.

F°RTIIQ

20.

D°D°RAX No G.

21. HDVTRD

22. HDVTRD No stops between last four words.

23. HDVTRD No stops between first four words.

24. HDWTRD

The three following coins all bear very unusual obverses both as regards busts and lettering which differ entirely from any coins of Series E and have no resemblance to any other series. The reverses of two of them clearly belong to Series E, and one of these is very like any of the reverses just described with the barred N in London. They are included here on account of this similarity.

(a) HDWTRD°D°G°RAX°THGL°7°FRTHQ°DhY

Lettering and bust and fleurs of quite unusual forms.

(b) °hYB

Same style as (a) larger fleurs.

(c) Same die as (b).

25.

DhYB

26.

D°hYB

27. HDWTRD D°

°h°YB°

28. °D°

°h°YB

29. No G.

°h°YB

30. Same die.

31. HDWRD

FRTHQ

32.

THGL°FRTHQ No 7.

33. Another die as last.

Faults in THGL.

34.

RIGLI°

DhYB

35. Same die.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|--------|
| 18. | /°DEIVM | LONDON |
| | R normal and V broken. | |
| 19. | /°DEIVM | |
| 20. | /°DEIVM | LONDON |
| 21. | /° | LONDON |
| 22. | /° | LONDON |
| 23. | /° | LONDON |
| 24. | /° | LONDON |
-
- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------------|
| (a) | /° | LONDON |
| | Normal lettering of Series E. | |
| (b) | /°? | LONDON |
| | Normal lettering of Series E. | |
| (c) | Normal legend and stops. | LONDON |
| | Style of lettering as on Obv. | V not broken. |
-
- | | | |
|-----|--|--------|
| 25. | /° | LONDON |
| | The unbarred II in LONDON is now the rule. | |
| 26. | °/ | |
| 27. | °/ | |
| 28. | | |
| 29. | | |
| 30. | Another die. | |
| 31. | | |
| 32. | °/° | |
| 33. | °/ | |
| 34. | | |
| 35. | /° | |

36. Same die.

37. THIGIL° DhYB

38. THIGR°

39. THIGR

40. $\text{HDWTRD D G}^\circ\text{RAX}^\circ\text{THIG}^\circ$

41. Same die.

Faults in FRTHIQ .

42. $\text{F}^\circ\text{RTHIQDhYB}$

43. $\text{hRTHIQ}^\circ\text{DhYB}$

44. Another die as 43.

45.

46. FRTHIQDhYB

47. $\text{FRTHIQ}^\circ\text{D}^\circ\text{hYB}$

48. FRTHIQD°

49. Legend normal where visible.

The arch of the breast has lis fleur.

50. $\text{HDWTRD}^\circ\text{D}^\circ\text{G}^\circ\text{RAX}^\circ\text{THIGL}^\circ\text{7}^\circ\text{FRTHIQ}^\circ\text{D}^\circ\text{hYB}$

51. Same die.

52. Same die.

53. HDWTRD D°hYB

54. DhYB

55. $\text{THIGL7FRTHIQ D}^\circ\text{hYB}$

56.

57.

58. HDWTRD Q for G .

59. HDWTRD D hRTHIQ

60. $\text{hRTHIQ hY}^\circ\text{B}^\circ$

61. D°RAX

62. Legend normal.

(Large fleurs-de-lis on tressures all round except above crown.)

Ordinary trefoil fleurs.

63. $\text{F}^\circ\text{RTHIQ}^\circ\text{DhYB}$

64. Same die.

65. Same die.

36. °/
 37. /°
 38. °/
 39. °/
 40.
 41. /°

42. POSVI/DEVS

43. °/
 44. /°

Faults in π DIVTØR.

45. °/ π /DQIVTER/
 46. POSVI°/ DQIVTØR/
 47. π /DEVISØR/
 48.
 49. /°DEV

LONDØI
 LONDØI

50. POSVI/DEV π ° π /DIVTØR/Ø π °ØV, LONDØI CIVIT π S

51. POSVI°/

52. POSVI/DEV π ° π /DQV π π /DIVTQV

53. POSVI°/

54. POSVI°/

DØI under POSVI.

55. POSVI°/

56. /°DEV

57. /°DEV

CIVIT π S LONDØI

58. /°DEV

59. POSVI°/

60. POSVI°/

61. /°DEV

LONDØI

62. /°

With Q and Ø broken.

63. POSVI°/DEV π ° π /DIVTØR/Ø π °ØV, LONDØI CIVIT π S

64. /°DEV

65. POSVI°/

LONDØI

With broken Q and H on obv.

66. HDWTRD°D°G°RAX°THIGL°7°FRTHQ°D°hYB
 67. DhYB
 68. Another die. DhYB
 69. RAX°THIGL°7° DhYB
 70. As 67.
 71. HDVTRD

With broken Q and H both sides in the outer legend.

72. HDWTRD°D°G°RAX°THIGL°7°FRTHQ°DhYB Fault above
 crown.
 73. Same die.
 74. Same die.
 75. Another die without the fault.
 76. FRTHQ No R.
 77. Same die.
 78. RAX°THIGL°FRTHQ°D°hYB No 7.
 79. THIGLFRTHQ hYB° No. 7.

The trefoil fleurs are replaced by fleurs-de-lis.

80. HDWTRD° °DhYB
 81. Same die as 80.

Reviewing the long list of groats some curious facts are brought out. It is noticeable how regular are the legends and the stops. Where irregularity occurs it is usually to be found in the same place. The stops between the words, for instance, seldom vary except on the obverse between D and hYB and on the reverse between POSVI and DAVM. In these two positions many dies are noted where the stop on the obverse is omitted and that on the reverse is sometimes absent, and sometimes either after POSVI or before DAVM. A stop in the wrong place is found to occur before the last D in HDWTRD on Nos. 6, 11, and 50, all coins from different dies, and also between F and R of FRTHQ on Nos.

With G and H not broken.

66. Same die as 47.

67. POSVI^o/

LONDON

68. POSVI/

69. POSVI^o/

70. /DEVS

71. /DEVS

With G and H broken.

72. POSVI/DEVS^oπ/DIVTOR/EM^oMEV, LONDON CIVITAS

73. Another die.

74. POSVI^o/

75. /^oDEVS

76. /^oDEVS

77. POSVI^o/

78. POSVI^o/

79. POSVI^o/

80. POSVI/DEVS

81. /^oDEVS

1. POSVI/DEVS^oTK/DIVTOR/EM^oMEV, LONDON CIVITAS
2. /^oDEVS^o CIVITAS LONDON
3. /^oDEVS^o LONDON CIVITAS
4. /^oDEVS^o CIVITAS LONDON
5. /^oDEVS^o CIVITAS LONDON
6. Another die.
7. Another die.
8. ^oDEVS^o CIVITAS LONDON
9. / DEVS^o
10. / DEVS^o LONDON
11. / DEVS^o LONDON
12. Same die.
13. /^oDEVS^o LONDON
14. POSVI/DEVS^o
15. /^oD G for E. LONDON CIVITAS
16. /^oDEVS^o CIVITAS LONDON
17. /^oDEVS^o
18. /^oDEVS^o
19. Another die.
20. /^oDEVS^o

21. °D°hYB
 22. °DhYB
 23. Same die as 12.

Letters broken both sides.

24. °DhYB
 25. Another die.
 26. °D°hYB
 27. Another die.
 28. Same die.
 29. TIIIGL°FRTHQ°DhYB No 7.

Mules. Groats.

Series E.

1. EDWTRD° Square E. The Q in FRTHQ is not flat at the top.
2. Same die.
3. Same die.

This obv. die has the peculiar E noted above (8-16), but the presence of the Q with its rounded top so closely agrees with the corresponding letter of Series F that the conclusion points to a die made for this issue, in spite of the E which again is intentional.

With lis fleurs to the tressure, no broken letters.

4. EDWTRD° D°hYB
 5. DhYB
 6. Another die as 5.

Normal fleurs with broken Q and Q.

7. °DhYB

Letters broken on reverse only.

21. POSVI/

22. /°DÆVΛ

23. /°DÆVΛ

24. /°DÆVΛ

The H of ÆDIVTØRΛ struck over another letter.

25. /°DÆVΛ

26. /°DÆVΛ

27. Another die.

28. Yet another die.

29. POSVI/DÆVΛ

Series F.

1. Crown. /°DÆVΛ

ΛM°MÆV° LONDØH CIVITÆS

2. /°DÆVΛ

ΛM°MÆV, LONDØH CIVITÆS

3. /°DÆVΛ

ΛM°MÆV, CIVITÆS LONDØH

4. Crown. /°DÆVΛ

CIVITÆS LONDØH

5. Crown. Another die.

6. LONDØH CIVITÆS

7. Crown. /°DÆVΛ

CIVITÆS LONDØH

8. Same die.

9. No fleur on king's right shoulder.

10.

11. $\Theta D W T R D \cdot D \cdot G \cdot R \Theta X \cdot T H G L \cdot 7 \cdot F R T H Q \cdot D h Y B$

8 arches to the tressure.

12. The same die.

Series F.

13. Crown. Legend and stops normal. $\circ D h Y B$

14. Same die.

Series E.

1. $\Theta D W T R D \cdot D \cdot G \cdot R \Theta X \cdot T H G L \cdot 7 \cdot F R T H Q \cdot D h Y B$ Lis fleurs.
(Θ , as on No. 1 above, not flat on top.)

2. Same die.

3. Same legend and stops where visible, ordinary fleurs.

4. $\Theta D W T R D \cdot D \cdot R \Theta X \cdot T H G L \cdot 7 \cdot F R T H Q \cdot D \cdot h Y B$
(Same die as Series E, No. 20.)

5. Same die.

6. $\Theta D W T R D \cdot D \cdot G \cdot R \Theta X \cdot T H G L F R T H Q D \cdot h Y B \cdot$
(Same die as No. 79.) Θ , Θ broken.

7. Legend and stops normal. Lis fleurs except that on breast.

Series F.

1. Crown. $\Theta D W T R D \cdot D \cdot G \cdot R \Theta X \cdot T H G L 7 \cdot F R T H Q \cdot D h Y B$

2.

$T H G L \cdot 7 \cdot F R T H Q \cdot D \cdot h Y B$

3.

$T H G L 7 \cdot F R T H Q \cdot D \cdot h Y B$

- | | | |
|------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| 8. | | LONDON CIVITAS |
| 9. | | CIVITAS LONDON |
| 10. | ANONON A for E. | CIVITAS LONDON |
| 11. Crown. | /ONON As and Ms broken. | CIVITAS LONDON |
| 12. Crown. | All the As replaced by Es. | LONDON CIVITAS |

Series E.

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------|----------------|
| 13. POSVI/ | E broken. | LONDON CIVITAS |
| 14. POSVI/ONON | | |

Series G.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. POSVI/ONON/ANONON, CIVITAS LONDON | |
| | Ms broken. Annulet in quarter under CIVI. |
| 2. Another die. | |
| 3. POSVI/ | LONDON CIVITAS |
| | No annulet in quarter. |
| 4. Another die. | Ms broken. No annulet in quarter. |
| 5. A different die. | The letters of inner legend have serifs. |
| | Annulet under CIVI. |
| 6. POSVI/ONON | CIVITAS LONDON |
| | Annulet under CIVI. |
| 7. POSVI/ | CIVITAS LONDON |
| | No annulet in quarter. An alteration in the die of the group of pellets under CIVI. |

Series G.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. POSVI/ONON/ANONON, CIVITAS LONDON | |
| | An annulet outside to the right of the group of pellets under CIVI. |
| 2. The same die. | |
| 3. The same die. | |

Q, D, H broken on obv.

4. EDWTRDVS·D·G·RAX·THGL·FRTH·DH·YB

No 7. The stops are very roughly put in. There is a line joining the lowest arch to the tressure.

5. Same die.

6. Same die.

7.

7. The H of EDWTRD does not show the break.

8. As 7, but all H's broken.

Series G.

9. Same legend. All the arches fleured. An annulet under the bust.

Half-Groats. Series E.

1. EDWTRDVS·RAX·THGL·7·FRTH

2. Another die.

3. Another die.

4.

THGL·7·FRTH

5.

THGL·7·FRTH

6.

FRTH

7.

FRTH

8.

THGL·7·ERTH (E for F).

9.

THGL·7·FRTH

10. Legend and stops as 1.

11.

THGL·7·FRTH (No 7). Q and H broken.

12.

EDWTRDVS·RAX·THGL·7·FRTH Q and H broken.

12.*

EDWTRDVS RAX·THGL·7·ERTH E for F

13. Same die.

14.

THGL·7·FRTH

Q and H broken.

15.

THGL·7·ERTH

E for F.

16.

ERTH

17. Same die as 14.

4. POSVI/°DGV°/DIVTOR/°M°MIV, CIVITTS LONDON
An annulet between the pellets in the quarter under CIVI †

5. Another die.
6. Yet another die.
7.

LONDON

8. As 7, but another die. The annulet in quarter very large.

Series F.

9. Crown. Same legend. D and G broken, A unbroken. LONDON

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. POS/VI°DGV°/°DIVT/°G°M | DON CIVITTS LON |
| 2. °G°M | LONDON CIVITTS |
| 3. °G°M | |
| 4. Another die as 3. | |
| 5. Same legend, no stops. | |
| 6. POS/VI°DGV°/°DIVT | A and G broken, D unbroken. |
| 7. | A broken. |
| 8. Normal legends. | |
| 9. Normal legends, no stops. A for G. | |
| 10. Normal legends, no stops. A and G broken. | |
| 11. As last. | |
| 12. As last. | |
| 12.* POS/VI DGV°/°DIVT/°G°M | LONDON CIVITTS |
| | A and G broken. |
| 13. +POS/VI°DGV° S of Posui over stamped on a square letter. | |
| 14. Same die. | |
| 15. POS/VIDIV/°DIVT/°G°M | A for G. LONDON DIVITOR |
| 16. Same die. | |
| 17. Normal legend and stops. A and G broken. | DIVITOR |

Half-Groats. Series F. Initial mark crown.

All the half-groats of this Series have the arches fleured
with fleurs-de-lis instead of trefoils.

1. EDWTRDVSRHXTHGLI7FRTHI
2. FRTHI
3. THGLI
4. THGLI
5. THGLI7FRTHI
6. FRTHI
7. As 6.

8. As 2.

9. As 2.

Mules.

Series E.

1. EDWTRDVSRHXTHGLI7FRTHI

2. Same die.

3. Same die.

4. Same legend.

FRTHI I and H broken.

No fleur on right shoulder.

5.

FRTHI I and H broken.

Series F.

6. Crown. EDWTRDVSRHXTHGLI7FRTHI

Same die as Series F, No. 1.

1. POS/VI·D·AV·/·T·DIVT/·OR·M, L·O·N·D·O·N CIVIT·T·S
2. /V·T·D·AV·/
3. As 1. OR·M·
4. OR·M· CIVIT·T·S L·O·N·D·O·N
5. Same legend as 4. No stops.
6. As 4.
7. VI·D·AV/ L·O·N·D·O·N CIVIT·T·S

With A, D, G, broken on rev.

8. OR·M· CIVIT·T·S L·O·N·D·O·N
9. As 8, but the T of T·DIVT is over-struck on another letter.
A, D, G, broken.

Series F.

1. Crown. POS/VI·D·AV·/·T·DIVT/·OR·M, CIVIT·T·S L·O·N·D·O·N
A, D, G broken.
2. As 1 but no broken letters.
3. Same legend. No stops. L·O·N·D·O·N CIVIT·T·S
4. CIVIT·T·S L·O·N·D·O·N
5. POS/VI·D·AV·/·T·DIVT/·OR·M· L·O·N·D·O·N CIVIT·T·S

Series E.

6. POS/VI·D·AV/·T·DIVT/·OR·M, L·O·N·D·O·N CIVIT·T·S
A and G broken. As Series E, No. 11. Same die?

Series E.

7. $\Theta D W \Upsilon R D V S \circ R \Theta X \circ \Upsilon H G L \circ 7 \circ F R \Upsilon Q I$

8. Same as 7 where visible.

9. $\Theta D W \Upsilon R D V S R \Theta X \Upsilon H G L F R \Upsilon Q I$ No 7. No stops.
I and Θ broken.10. $\Theta D W \Upsilon R D V S \circ R \Theta X \circ \Upsilon H G L \circ 7 \circ F R \Upsilon Q I$

11. Another die.

12. Another die.

13. Another die with I and Θ broken and 7 omitted.

14. Another die as 13. I broken and 7 omitted.

Series F.

1. $\Theta D W \Upsilon R D V S \circ R \Theta X \circ \Upsilon H G L \circ 7 \circ F R \Upsilon Q I$

2. Another die.

3. Another die.

4. $\Upsilon H G L \circ$ Broken X in R ΘX .5. $\Upsilon H G L \circ$ Broken X in R ΘX .

No fleurs on shoulders?

6. $\Upsilon H G L \circ$ 7. $\Upsilon H G L \circ 7 \circ F \Upsilon \cdot \cdot I$ 8. Same die? $F \Upsilon H Q I$ 9. $\Upsilon H G L \circ 7 \circ F R \Upsilon Q I$

10. Legend as 1.

11. $F \circ R \Upsilon Q I$

12. Same die.

13. Legend as 1.

Series G.

7. POS/VI·D·V/°T·D·I·V·T/ØR·E·M, CIVIT·S LON·DON
Letters with serifs. No annulet in quarter.
8. POS°/VI·D·V°
LON·DON CIVIT·S
No annulet.
9. Same legend. No stops visible. LON·DON CIVIT·S
The Ø of ØR·E·M is broken somewhat as those of Series E.
Letters with serifs. No annulet.
10. POS/VI·D·V/T·D·I·V·T/ØR·E·M, LON·DON CIVIT·S
A small annulet outside and to the left of the group of pellets under LON.
11. Same die.
12. Same die.
13. Same die.
14. As 10 but no annulet in any quarter.

Series G.

1. POS/VI·D·V°/T·D·I·V·T/ØR·E·M, LON·DON CIVIT·S
Annulet outside pellets under LON.
This die is not the same as that of the rev. of mule E/G No. 10.
2. Same die.
3. Same die.
4. Same die.
5. Same die.
6. POS/VI·D·V°/D·V·M/T·D·I·M No annulet between pellets.
7. Same die.
8. POS°/VI·D·V°/T·D·I·V·T/ØR·E·M +
9. Legend as 1. Annulet between pellets?
10. Legend as 1. CIVIT·S LON·DON +
11. Letters with serifs. CIVIT·S LON·DON +
12. POSV/I·D·V°T/D·I·V·T°/R·E·M·M, CIVIT·S LON·DON +
13. Another die as 12.

Pennies. Series E.

1. EDWTRDVS·RAX·TUGLI (Square E in EDWTRD).
2. EDWTRDVS·RAX·TUGLI
3. As 2.
4. TUGLI°
5. As 2.
6. As 2 where visible, coin damaged.

Pennies. Series F. Initial mark Crown.

1. EDWTRDVS·RAX·TUGLI Bust of Series E.
2. " " " "
3. A different bust. TUGLI° The stop after RAX?
4. Legend as No. 1; bust as No. 3.

Mules.

Series E.

1. EDWTRDVS·RAX·TUGLI°

Series F.

2. As No. 4 above.

Series F.

3. Same die as true coin No. 2.

Series F.

1. EDWTRDVS·RAX·TUGLI
2. Same legend, no stops.
3. As 1.
4. As 1.

1. CIVITKS LONDON

An annulet between the pellets in each quarter.

2. CIVITKS LONDON

" " "

3. CIVITKS LONDON

" " "

4. As 3.

5. CIVITKS LONDON α broken. No annulets.6. CIVITOS [*sic*] No annulets.

1. CIVI/TKS/LON/DON

2. CIVI/TKS^o/LON/DON

3. As 1 where visible.

4. As 1.

Series F.

1. CIVITKS LONDON

This appears to have a α belonging to the crown-marked coins.

Series C.

2. CIVITKS LONDON Annulet in each group of pellets.

Series E.

3. Legend as 1. Broken α . Same die as true coin No. 5.

Series G.

1. CIVITKS LONDON

†

2. As 1.

3. LONDON

†

4. LONDON

†

Halfpennies.

These were ordered in the indenture of May 31st, 1355, and were the first of the reformed coins.

Series E.

1. EDWTRDVS·R·EX·T·R
2. Same legend. No annulet after R·EX
There are several dies for No. 1.

Mule. F/G.

Series F.

1. Crown. EDVTRDVS . . EX

Farthing.

There was no order for a farthing in the indenture ordering the halfpenny. The coin now listed agrees in style and lettering with the halfpennies, and the broken E of Series E settles the attribution beyond doubt. The shape of the N on the reverse cannot be decided as the coin is ill-struck and only a portion of one N remains.

1. +EDWTRDVS R·EX E broken.

There may be an annulet between the words.

York Royal Mint. Series E.

Groats.

R of Series D.

1. EDWTRD·D·G·R·EX·T·H·G·L·7·FR·T·H·D·D·h·Y·B
2. FR·T·H·D·D·h·Y·B
3. EDWTRDDG·R·H·T·H·G·L·7·FR·T·H·D·D·h·Y·B No X.

1. CIVITAS LONDON Round Rs both sides.

2. " " " "

1. CIVITAS LO ON

An annulet outside and to left of group of pellets under LON.

1. CIVIT DO.

R of Series D, V in CIVI unbroken.

1. POSVI/°DENVN/DIVTOR/EN°MENV, CIVITAS EBORACI

The N of DENVN is represented by 3 strokes thus |||

2. Same die as 1.

3. Legend as 1. °DENVN°

Normal R of Series E on obverse.

4. Legend as 1. $\text{THIG}^\circ\text{L}$
 5. Legend as 1. hYB°
 6. Legend as 1.
 7. As 1. hYB°
 8. As 1.
 9. Legend as 1. Another die.
 10. As 1.
 11. HDVTRD°
 12. Same die.
 13. As 1.
 14. As 1.
 15. As 1. A different die from 14.
 16. As 1. A different die from 14 and 15.
 17. As 1.
 18. FRTHGDhYB
 19. As 1.

With broken G and G on obverse.

20. DhYB
 21. Same die.

Half-Groats. Series E.

1. $\text{HDWTRDVS}^\circ\text{RHX}^\circ\text{THIGL}^\circ\text{7}^\circ\text{FRTHQI}^\circ$
 2.
 3.
 4. $\text{THIGL}^\circ\text{7}$
 5. Same die.
 6. $\text{THIGL}^\circ\text{7}^\circ\text{FRTHQI}$ G broken?

R of Series D. V unbroken.

4. EBORTKCI CIVITTS

5. Legend as 3.

6. EBO°
°/DQVMT/7. POSVI° EBQ

The R of KDIVTOR is very large.

8. Legend as 3. BO of EBO both altered.

V broken.

9. Same die.

Normal R of Series E.

10. POSVI°/ K/KIVTOR

11. Same die.

12. POSVI° Legend as 3.

13. POSVI°/ Legend as 3. E of DQVMT overstruck on another letter.

14. PORVI°/DQVMT

15. Same die.

16. Same die.

17. °MTI

18. POSVI°/ Legend as 3.

19. Legend as 1. No stops. EBORTKCI CIVITTS

20. Same die.

21. Legend as 3. EBORTKCI CIVITTS

1. POS/VIDQV°/KDIVT/ORQMT CIVITTS EBORTKCI

2. ORQMT3. /VI°DQV°/

4. POS°/VI°DQV°

5. /VI°DQV°/6. /VI°DQV°

7. $\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ\overline{7}\circ\overline{\text{FR}}\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{I}}$
 8. As 7.
 9. $\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ\overline{7}\circ\overline{\text{FR}}\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{I}}$
 10. Another die as 9.
 11. $\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ\overline{7}\circ\overline{\text{FR}}\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{I}}$ 10 arches.
 12. As 7. Lis on breast.
 13. Same die.
 14. $\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ\overline{7}\circ\overline{\text{FR}}\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{I}}\circ$
 15. Same die.
 16. $\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ\overline{7}\circ\overline{\text{FR}}\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{I}}$
 17.
 18. $\overline{\text{THGL}}\overline{7}\overline{\text{FR}}\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{I}}$
 19. Same die.

With broken $\overline{\text{U}}$ and $\overline{\text{H}}$ on obverse.

20. $\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ\overline{7}\circ\overline{\text{FR}}\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{I}}$
 Fleur absent from King's right shoulder.
 21. $\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ\overline{7}\circ\overline{\text{FR}}\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{I}}$
 22. Same die as 20.
 23. $\overline{\text{THGL}}\overline{7}\circ\overline{\text{FR}}\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{I}}$
 24. $\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ\overline{7}\circ\overline{\text{FR}}\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{I}}$

York Pennies. Series E.

- 1 + 2. $\overline{\text{EDW}}\overline{\text{TRDVS}}\circ\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{EX}}\circ\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ\overline{7}$ R of Series D
 2. R of Series E.
 3. R of Series E.
 4. $\circ\overline{\text{THGL}}\overline{\text{I}}$ R of Series E.
 5. $\circ\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ$ R of Series E.
 6. $\circ\overline{\text{THGL}}\overline{\text{I}}$ R of Series E.
 7. $\circ\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ\overline{3}$ R of Series E.

With broken $\overline{\text{U}}$ and $\overline{\text{H}}$ on obverse only.

8. $\circ\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ$
 9. $\overline{\text{EDW}}\overline{\text{TRD}}\circ\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{EX}}\circ\overline{\text{THGL}}\circ\overline{7}\circ\overline{\text{FR}}\overline{\text{TH}}\overline{\text{I}}$

7. As 3.
8. As 1 but no stops.
9. Same die.
10. Another die as 9.
11. As 3.
12. POS/VIDDV/ΠDVIT/ORDM No stops. α for θ.
13. Another die as 12.
14. Same die as 13.
15. As 3.
16. As 1.
17. /VI·DDV·/ /ORDM
18. As 3.
19. Same die as 2.

20. As 3.

21. Same die as 4?

22. As 8.

23. As 3.

24. /VI·DDV·/

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. CIVITAS GBO RMDI | R of Series D. |
| 2. | R of Series D. |
| 3. GBO | R of Series D. |
| 4. GBO | R of Series D. |
| 5. | R of Series E. |
| 6. | R of Series E. |
| 7. | |

8. As 5.

9. As 5.

A comparison of the lists of the London and York coins of series E brings out some curious points. It is only on the groats of both mints, and on York pennies, that the R characteristic of the previous series D appears. On the London coins it is confined to the reverse, on the York coins the letter appears on both sides and then on the reverse only. On neither mint is it found on any half-groats, nor is it found on London pennies. The York groats bearing this R outnumber the London coins. The P representing R never appears at all at York. At London it appears first on the reverse of a muled groat D/E, then on the obverse, combined with the R of Series D on the reverse, and then with a reverse having the normal R of Series E. There is no note of a groat with this P on both sides. A noble has it on the obverse (die Q). The London half-groats only show the P on the reverse. The London pennies do not show the P at all, but some pennies of Durham do. The two mints produce many coins similar except for the mint name, but after the closure of the York mint there are some London coins which naturally would not be represented at York. It will be noticed in the lists that whereas the broken Q and Q appear in variety at London on both groats and half-groats and one penny, No. 5, the York coins only show the broken letter on the obverse. Probably the London coins bearing these letters on the reverse or on both sides were struck after the closure of the York mint. The half-groat of York with the fleur-de-lis on the breast, 12, is not represented at London. The pennies of the two mints differ considerably. The legend on all the London pennies is EDWTRDVS·REX·THGLI.

Many of the York pennies add °7, one of these has the R of Series D and is consequently early, and it is suggested here that the whole legend is copied from pennies of Series D on which it is fairly often found. No. 7 in the York list provides a coin with the quatrefoil at the end of the obverse legend not represented at London though known at Durham (No. 3).

The latest York Royal penny, No. 9 in the list, presents an entirely new obverse legend. EDWTRD is a new abbreviation for the King's name and the French title is also new. The broken \mathcal{A} and \mathcal{E} on the obverse clearly identify its position. There are two London coins probably struck after this York penny, Nos. 5 and 6 in the list. These for the first time omit the annulets between the pellets on the reverse of a London coin; one of them, No. 5, has the broken \mathcal{A} on the reverse.

Durham Pennies.

Series E.

1. EDWTRDVSO REX THGLI P = R.
2. EDWTRDVSO REX THGLI7
3. EDWTRDVSO REX THGLI^o 4 annulets.
4. THGLI7 The bust has been partly altered.

Series F.

1. EDWTRDVSO REX THGLI7
The bust on this coin resembles that on No. 4, Series E.
2. Same legend as 1, normal bust.
3. ^o7 Is broken?
4. THGLI7

Mules.

Series E.

1. EDWTRDVSO REX THGLI7
Same die as true coin No. 4, with rough bust.
2. Same legend, bust not altered. Stops?
3. EDWTRDVSO REX THGLI7
4. EDWTRDVSO REX THGLI7

Series F.

5. EDWTRDVSO REX THGLI7

1. CIVITAT DVNGLMIA^oƿ Crosier R.
2. DVNGLMIA^oƿ
- 3.
- 4.

1. CIVITAT^oDVRGHI^oƿ Same die as Mule E/F No. 1.
2. CIVITAT^oDVRGHI^oƿ
3. Same legend as 1.
4. CIVITAT^oDVRGHI^oƿ Same die as Mule E/F No. 3.
G, D, H broken.

Series F.

1. CIVITAT^oDVRGHI^oƿ
2. CIVITAT^oDVRGHI^oƿ
3. CIVITAT^oDVRGHI^oƿ Broken G, D, H.
4. CIVI/TAT^o/DVR/GHI^oƿ

Series E.

5. CIVITAT DVNGLMIA^oƿ

LIST OF COINS ILLUSTRATED.

[The letters and numbers at the end of each description refer to dies described above.]

Plate VI (II).

- No. 1. Noble, Series E, *obv.* only, Die Q. to show the P for R.
- No. 2. Noble, Series E. R/40.
- No. 3. Noble, Series E, *obv.* only, Die S.
- No. 4. Noble, Series E. AE/62.
- No. 5. Noble, Series E. AH/66. Q and H broken both sides, saltire stops both sides.
- No. 6. Noble, Mule, *obv.* Series E, *rev.* Series F. AJ/73.
- No. 7. Noble, Mule, *obv.* Series F, *rev.* Series E. AO/69.
- No. 8. Noble, Series F. AP/79.

Plate VII (III).

- No. 1. Noble, Mule, *obv.* Series E, *rev.* Series G. AJ/88.
- No. 2. Noble, Mule, *obv.* Series F, *rev.* Series G. AM/83.
- No. 3. Half-noble, Series E. The only one known.
- No. 4. Quarter-noble, Mule, *obv.* Series G, *rev.* Series E. No. 1 in list.
- No. 5. Groat, Series E, P for R on *obv.* Unbroken V in QIVI
- No. 6. Groat, Series E, square E in Edward. No. 13 in list.
- No. 7. Groat, Series E, unusual bust and lettering. (a) in list.
- No. 8. Groat, Series E, unusual bust and lettering. (b) in list.
- No. 9. Groat, Series E, *obv.* only, to show lis on breast. No. 59 in list.

Plate VIII (IV).

- No. 1. Groat, Series E, large fleurs-de-lis on tressures. No. 62 in list.
- No. 2. Groat, Series E, Q and H broken on *obv.* No. 66 in list.
- No. 3. Groat, Series E, small fleurs-de-lis on tressures, Q and H broken both sides. No. 80 in list.

- No. 4. Groat, Mule, *obv.* Series E, *rev.* Series F. No. 4 in list.
- No. 5. Groat, Mule, *obv.* Series F, *rev.* Series E. No. 13 in list.
- No. 6. Groat, Series F. LOMDON No. 11 in list.
- No. 7. Groat, Series F. Q, Q, D broken both sides. No. 27 in list.
- No. 8. Groat, Mule, *obv.* series E, *rev.* Series G. No. 7 in list.
- No. 9. Groat, Mule, *obv.* Series F, *rev.* Series G. Annulet outside group of pellets under QIVI

Plate IX (V).

- No. 1. Half-groat, Series E. No. 5 in list.
- No. 2. Half-groat, Series E. Q and Q broken both sides. No. 12 in list.
- No. 3. Half-groat, Series E. QIVITOR No. 16 in list.
- No. 4. Half-groat, Series F.
- No. 5. Half-groat, Mule, *obv.* Series E, *rev.* Series F. No. 3 in list.
- No. 6. Half-groat, Mule, *obv.* Series F, *rev.* Series E. Q and Q broken. No. 6 in list.
- No. 7. Half-groat, Mule, *obv.* Series E. Q and Q broken. *rev.* Series G. No. 9 in list.
- No. 8. Half-groat, Mule, *obv.* Series F, *rev.* Series G. Annulet outside pellets under LON No. 1 in list.
- No. 9. Half-groat, Mule, *obv.* Series F, *rev.* Series G. Annulet between the pellets under QIVI No. 10 in list.
- No. 10. Penny, Series E. Square E in Edward. No. 1 in list.
- No. 11. Penny, Series E. An annulet between the pellets in each group. No. 3 in list.
- No. 12. Penny, Series E. No annulets between the pellets. No. 5 in list.
- No. 13. Penny, Series F. No. 2 in list.
- No. 14. Penny, Mule, *obv.* Series E, *rev.* Series F. No. 1 in list
- No. 15. Penny, Mule, *obv.* Series F, *rev.* Series G. Annulet between the pellets under QIVI No. 1 in list.
- No. 16. Halfpenny, Series E. No. 2 in list.
- No. 17. Halfpenny, Mule, *obv.* Series F, *rev.* Series G. Annulet outside the pellets under LON
- No. 18. Farthing, Series E. No. 1 in list.

Plate X (VI).

- No. 1. York Groat, Series E, showing the R of Series D both sides. No. 1 in list.
No. 2. York Groat, Series E. PORVI No. 14 in list.
No. 3. York Half-groat, Series E. No. 8 in list.
No. 4. York Half-groat, Series E, 10 arches to tressure. No. 11 in list.
No. 5. York Half-groat, Series E. Lis on breast. No. 12 in list.
No. 6. York Half-groat, Series E. Q and Q broken on *obv.* No. 20 in list.
No. 7. York Penny, Series E. No quatrefoil on *rev.* Royal Mint. No. 2 in list.
No. 8. York Penny, Series E. Quatrefoil at end of *obv.* legend. No quatrefoil on *rev.* No. 7 in list.
No. 9. York Penny, Series E. Q and Q broken on *obv.* No quatrefoil on *rev.* No. 9 in list.
No. 10. Durham Penny, Series E. Showing P like R. No. 1 in list.
No. 11. Durham Penny, Series E. Quatrefoil at end of *obv.* legend. No. 3 in list.
No. 12. Durham Penny, series E. Altered bust. No. 4 in list.
No. 13. Durham Penny, Series F. Altered bust. No. 1 in list.
No. 14. Durham Penny, Series F. No. 4 in list.
No. 15. Durham Penny, Mule, *obv.* Series E, *rev.* Series F, with broken Q. No. 3 in list.
No. 16. Durham Penny, Mule, *obv.* Series F, *rev.* Series E. No. 5 in list.

VI

NOTES ON CERTAIN ANGLO-SAXON COIN-TYPES.

[SEE PLATE VII.]

No one denies that the earliest Anglo-Saxon coinage had its origin in the great imperial coinage of Rome, strange though the assertion may seem to the beginner, who compares the efforts of Anglo-Saxon moneyers, with their quaint and grotesque types, with the neat and well-executed currency of the times of Diocletian and Constantine. But of the fact there can be no doubt, after a detailed investigation of the sceatta and the gold "tremissis" series, and even (as we shall presently see) of the penny series. The busts and seated or standing figures of Constantine and Valentinian, of Theodosius and Honorius, their banners and altars, the allegorical figures of the Roman Wolf or of the genius of *Urbs Roma*, inspired the clumsy engravers of our earliest money for many a generation. Even King Alfred in his prime did not scorn to copy the money of Valens and Valentinian, and as late as Ethelred the Unready we find an echo of the armoured bust, with the helm crowned with rays, that was one of the commonest types of Constantine the Great.

In the sceatta and "tremissis" series of the sixth and seventh centuries we find many a quaint echo of Roman work, debased into sheer absurdity, before we get to the better period of Anglo-Saxon art. Even types that on the face of them look Teutonic and

original, like the dragon and spear type, about which Mr. Salisbury spoke to us last year, may turn out, when investigated and traced through many variants, to be a mere survival of the "overthrown barbarian horseman" type of Constantius II and his contemporaries, in which only the horse and the spear wounding it have survived. After seeing this demonstrated, I do not venture to assert positively that any of the Anglo-Saxon devices which are generally ascribed to native Teutonic and non-Roman art may not be very far-fetched perversions of some familiar imperial original. Perpetual copying of copies leads to astounding degradation, as any one who has studied the coinage of pre-Roman Britain will gladly acknowledge.

It has been generally conceived that the odd types of the sceatta series, whether degraded royal portraits taken from the obverses of Roman coins, or strange squares and stray meaningless letters, derived from Roman reverses, from some inscribed altar or banner of the fourth century, have no particular meaning, and do not designate by their differences the adoption of one set of types by separate Heptarchic kingdoms, or individual kings,—though no doubt some groups of devices were more prevalent in one part of Anglo-Saxon England, and others in another. But that there was any political or religious reason why one king's moneyer should have chosen one particular type, and another a different one, I do not think that any one has ever asserted. Nothing could be more exquisitely inappropriate than the adoption of the Wolf and Twins by Ethelbert of East Anglia, except perhaps Offa of Mercia's strange experiment of copying the Saracenic *Mancus*, on which the Arabic declaration

that there is no god but God and Muhammad is his Prophet is tolerably legible.

This general want of reason or appropriateness in the copying of old Roman types has been so generally acknowledged, that I found myself somewhat surprised when I detected in a certain group of ninth-century pennies what I conceive to be a definite political meaning, and a deliberate resuscitation of a long forgotten Roman device in commemoration of a contemporary event. I am referring to the three coins of Halfdene the Viking, of Ceolwulf II, last King of Mercia, and of the great Alfred himself, all bearing the familiar type of the *solidi* of the fourth century, habitually struck when two colleague-emperors were reigning and celebrating their mutual concord. This group of two seated imperial persons, facing the spectator, with a Victory (or perhaps in the latest specimens an angel) blessing them from behind, was common to Valens and Valentinian I, to Gratian and his brother Valentinian II, again to Gratian and Theodosius I, to Magnus Maximus and Victor, and so on down to Theodosius II and Valentinian III. With the possible exception of the type of the standing Emperor holding the *Labarum*, it is the most usual device of fourth-century gold coins. That the early Anglo-Saxons were handling thousands of them, and were familiar with the picture, is sufficiently shown by the fact that some of the earlier dumpy gold *sceattas* reproduce it.

But from the commencement of regular state coinage bearing kings' names in Northumbria, Mercia, Kent, and East Anglia a different set of reverse-types prevailed for a hundred years. Though the reverses of some of the coins of Offa and his contemporaries are

very elaborate, and sometimes surprising (e.g. the Wolf and Twins type of Ethelbert of East Anglia, Offa's victim), they are never so elaborate as this type of the seated emperors and Victory. Elaboration generally ran to floral patterns or arabesques of sorts, or monograms.

It is most intriguing to the student of Anglo-Saxon types, therefore, to find in the years 872-80 a small group of pennies reproducing with considerable accuracy this ancient Roman device, when all the art of England had been for some time running in other directions, and inclining to a quite different sort of reverse-patterns. And our surprise is only confirmed when we discover that there was never again in the whole of the history of the English coinage a type showing three personages. Nor was there in that of Continental Europe till the fourteenth century, except indeed at Constantinople, when reverse-types showing not only two but even three scions of the reigning house standing side by side were not uncommon. But Anglo-Saxon coins do not, in the period of the silver penny, ever copy Byzantine coins: the only derivatives from that quarter belong to a much earlier time, that of the earliest sceats in the seventh century. In the ninth there was obviously no connexion—moreover the pennies of Halfdene, Ceolwulf II, and Alfred now in question show an exact copy of a fourth-century solidus, not of anything resembling the Byzantine treatment of a type where more than one emperor is represented.

The dates of our three pennies can be fixed with tolerable exactitude, because the unlucky Ceolwulf only assumed the royal title in 874, and had certainly

disappeared by 879, perhaps even earlier. On the other hand Halfdene the Viking was wintering in London in 872, and may have been in possession of it as late as 875, but went off in that year to York, where he established a petty kingdom for himself, which he held till his subjects expelled him in 877. Alfred's coin of the same type dates itself into the earlier period of his reign. He came to the throne in 871, and undoubtedly issued in his first years the pieces with a draped bust and on the reverse a moneyer's name written in three lines, with lunettes, which exactly resemble those of his brother-in-law Burgred of Mercia, who was reigning till 874. Next after these early pieces come those with a draped bust of different aspect—longer in the neck and with no circle enclosing the head, which both in this bust and in the ornamental quatrefoil on the reverse resemble the coins of the ephemeral Ceolwulf. The coin of Alfred which we are here discussing would be placed in these years between 871-7 if we had only the evidence of the head-side to guide us, since it obviously is akin to his two other early issues, and has no resemblance to his later coins with the draped bust, those with the London monogram on the reverse. All these late pieces with the bust and the London monogram must have been struck after 886, the year in which that city fell into Alfred's hands. For the Danes held it down to that time, as part of King Guthrum's kingdom of East Anglia. And these comparatively common "Londonia" pennies show no similarity at all with the art of the unique coin that has the two seated figures and the Victory behind them.

If then we rule that the Halfdene coin must belong

to the years 872-5, the Ceolwulf coin to 874-7, and the Alfred coin—allowing a year or so for his first issue with Burgred's types—to the years 873-8, we find ourselves compelled to ask why this sudden outbreak of coins struck by three distinct kings with the same very abnormal type came into existence. And incidentally we wonder why the type, having suddenly become popular in three states, as suddenly vanishes, and is never repeated by any later sovereigns.

That such a type should be adopted simultaneously, or almost simultaneously, by a Viking chief and by two English kings can hardly be the result of mere chance—as I have said before it had not been seen for 200 years, since the days of the early gold "tremisses". Nor can we attribute it to some odd inspiration of a moneyer; for of the two signed coins, that of Ceolwulf is struck by Ealdwulf and that of Alfred by Cenred, while Halfdene's coin has the monogram of London, which was not in the hands of either Ceolwulf or Alfred, and whose moneyers must have been in strict dependence on the Viking chief.

I am driven to the conclusion that there was "some method in this madness", and that the three kings were appreciating the meaning of the old Roman type, when they struck coins bearing it. The original meaning of the device of the two seated emperors and the Victory, as used by Valens and Valentinian, and after them by many other sovereigns was *concord between rulers*. The inscription might be **GLORIA ROMANORVM**, or **VOTA PVBLICA**, or **VICTORIA AVGG**—that did not matter—it was the type that spoke, and it meant peace and friendship. Surely an Anglo-Saxon and a Dane would perfectly well com-

prehend such a *type parlant*. It means peace, and peace in 875 meant peace after a treaty.

Now we know that in 874 there was concluded what the Mercians vainly thought was a definitive treaty of peace and a permanent settlement with the Viking "Great Army", the horde that Halfdene had been commanding since his colleague King Bagscaeg fell at the battle of Ashdown in 871. In 874 the Great Army finally drove out King Burgred of Mercia, who fled in despair over seas to Rome. Instead of occupying the whole country "they committed the kingdom of the Mercians", says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "to one Ceolwulf, an unwise king's *thægn*, and he made oaths to them and delivered hostages that Mercia should be at their disposal, and that he would be ready in his own person, and with all who would follow him, to serve the Great Army". Three years later the army, no longer under Halfdene who had settled down in conquered Northumbria, as King of York, in 875, partitioned Mercia; "some part of it they took for themselves, and some they delivered over to Ceolwulf." This is the last we hear of him, but he was actually gone by 879-80, when we know that "the army" went into Mercia and lay at Cirencester for a year, before it finally settled down in East Anglia, in accordance with the treaty imposed on Guthrum by King Alfred after the battle and siege of Chippenham in 878.

I take it then that when Halfdene and Ceolwulf strike with a common type, the one at London as the reverse shows, the other no doubt in some old Mercian town, such as Gloucester, we are presented with what I may call a medallic or commemorative piece,

celebrating a supposed permanent amity between Mercian and Dane. The pieces of both kings are excessively rare—I think that only one specimen is known of each. The Ceolwulf exhibited on Plate X, 4, is certainly unique—it is the specimen in the Assheton collection, that which was seen in the Montagu Sale having turned out to be a forgery. Presumably Ceolwulf only struck it on the occasion of the peace—going off immediately afterwards on to his usual type with the reverse of the floriated quatrefoil, which much resembles contemporary coins of Alfred of Wessex. Even these are rare, though not unattainable. As to Halfdene, we know that immediately after the Treaty he took the Great Army, or so much of it as chose to follow him, and settled down at York. London, his mint in 874, must have fallen into the hands of that other part of the Great Army which followed Guthrum in 876-8, and gave King Alfred so much trouble.

So much for the “seated emperors” pennies of Ceolwulf II and Halfdene. But what of the similar coin of Alfred, which obviously by its style and its resemblance to the Ceolwulf piece belongs to much the same date. The easiest solution would be to guess that there was a tripartite peace in 874 between Wessex, Mercia, and the Danes, and that Alfred fell into the commemoration scheme. But there are objections to this: to begin with, Alfred seems to have been hostile to Ceolwulf: the latter had just replaced as a usurper Alfred’s brother-in-law the expelled Burgred. And the tone of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, written under Alfred’s personal patronage, is very slighting as to the new Mercian ruler, whom it calls

"an unwise king's thegn"—a term that would not have been used if Wessex had approved the change of sovereigns in the neighbouring kingdom. There is perhaps even some touch of contempt in the fact that the Chronicle does not take the trouble to say anything about Ceolwulf's end, or to explain how Mercia is found within a few years in the hands of Alderman Ethelred, Alfred's trusted son-in-law. It is even conceivable that it was not the Danes who swept away the ephemeral usurper, but Ethelred with the approval of Alfred. Ceolwulf must have been generally unpopular as the tool and slave of the hated Vikings.

But there is a more cogent reason for not placing Alfred's penny of the seated emperors' type precisely in 874, when the other two coins must have been struck. This is that he did not, apparently, make any peace with Halfdene in that year. For he had already come to an agreement with him in 872, while Burgred was still reigning in Mercia, and Ceolwulf's usurpation was still two years in the future. And it was not apparently till 875 that trouble broke out between Wessex and that half of the "Great Army" which had not followed Halfdene to Yorkshire. In that year we find Alfred going to sea with the first Anglo-Saxon War-navy, which he had been busily constructing during his four years of peace; and in the spring following came Guthrum's first invasion of Wessex, which ended disastrously for the invaders at the sieges of Wareham and of Exeter.

We do get a definite treaty of peace with the Danes at the end of this campaign, when Guthrum and his men, starved out in Exeter, delivered hostages to Alfred, "as many as he would have, and swore many

oaths, and for a little time observed the peace well, retiring into Mercia". In the first month of the following year 878 they made that famous raid into Wessex which has given us the legend of the cakes and the wandering King, and the more historic memory of the refuge in the Isle of Athelney. This was followed by Alfred's complete victory, and the conclusion of the pact which is wrongly called in most histories the "Peace of Wedmore". Guthrum accepted Christianity, did homage to his conqueror, and received as a vassal the kingdom in East Anglia and Essex which he held till his death in 890.

A commemorative Peace-type medallion coin struck by Alfred would obviously be most appropriate in the year 878, which saw the conclusion of an agreement that really closed an epoch of trouble, and which was pretty well observed by the humbled Dane. But we cannot be sure that the peace made at Exeter in 877 may not have appeared at the moment to be equally epoch-making, though Alfred was destined to be bitterly disappointed by the outbreak of a fresh war at the succeeding New Year.

I ought not to pass over another possibility as to the dating of the Alfred penny. Is it conceivable that both it and the London penny of Halfdene might both belong to the year 872, when we know that the Viking chief was certainly in London, and that he actually made a peace-pact with the King of Wessex? The factor that seems to me to render this hypothesis less likely than the other, is the style of the obverse of Alfred's coin. A piece struck in his very first year would have been more likely to have a bust resembling that of his normal first issue, that in which his

head exactly resembles that of his brother-in-law Burgred. I fancy that we have to allow for a year or two, in which that type passed away, before we can accept the probability of the sort of portrait found on the two-kings penny having been evolved. If we accepted the theory that both the Alfred and the Halfdene pennies belong to a peace in 872, then the Ceolwulf penny would have to be regarded as a sort of echo of the Alfred penny, produced under circumstances resembling those of 872, i.e. when Mercia this time, not Wessex, had just made a permanent peace (as was supposed) with the king of the "Great Army". I am inclined myself to date the Alfred penny in 877 or 878 rather than in 872. But to others the evidence may produce a different decision.

C. W. C. OMAN.

The following coins are illustrated on Pl. VII:—

1. Solidus of Valentinian I with the two emperors type,
VICTORIA AVGG.
2. Anglo-Saxon thrymsa with type derived from the Roman two emperors type.
3. Penny of Halfdene with two emperors type and London monogram.
4. Penny of Ceolwulf II with two emperors type.
5. Penny of Alfred with two emperors type.
6. Penny of Alfred, first issue.
7. Penny of Alfred, second issue.
8. Penny of Ceolwulf II of the type of Alfred's second issue.

REVIEW.

Die Münzen und Medaillen des Erzstiftes Salzburg. Bearbeitet von MAX BERNHART und KARL ROLL. Pp. 164 with 11 plates and map. Kress & Hornung, Munich, 1929.

Zeller's work on the coinage of the archbishops of Salzburg has long been out of print, and the present volume will therefore be very welcome to collectors. It deals with the coinage and medals from Leonhard von Keutschach to Marcus Sitticus, and thus covers the period when the coinage, from the artistic side, is perhaps most interesting. The thalers of Salzburg are well known, not merely to specialist collectors, for the fine portraits of Matthäus Lang, and for the interesting representation of St. Radana (better known to us as Radegunda) attacked by wolves. Zeller's book laid special stress on the general history of the mint, the list of coins and medals being a secondary affair; the present work reverses this proportion. It is but the first volume, though there is nothing on the title-page to this effect. The complete work will include the issues of the Salzburg mint after the secularization of the archbishopric.

Naturally, all the great Austrian and German collections, both public (notably those of Vienna, Salzburg, and Munich) and private have been laid under contribution. Of foreign collections, those of Florence, London, and Paris have provided a few entries—London about one-third of the number furnished by Berlin. The arrangement is careful and easy to consult, and the plates are good.

G. F. H.

VII.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1928.

[SEE PLATE VIII.]

THIS report, as usual, owes much to suggestions by Mr. Robinson. I have omitted certain acquisitions—selections from finds of electrum Carthaginian coins and of silver of Ephesus and the dynasts of Caria—which will be dealt with by him later in special articles.

METAPONTUM.

1. *Obv.*—Head r., beardless, with slight whisker, wearing crestless Corinthian helmet; behind neck, ΣA

Rev.—Ear of barley, with leaf on r.; perched on the leaf, a small owl; on l., **META** upwards; between leaf and stalk, **AΘA**. Concave field.

AR \uparrow 21 mm. Wt. 6.54 grm. (101.0 gr.). [Pl. VIII.]

Other specimens: (a) Hirsch 7, lot 42 = Hirsch 15 (Philipsen), lot 586 = Bachelor Sale 26 iv. 1907, lot 79, Pl. iii. 46 = Pozzi 200. On this the owl is not visible. (b) Egger 45, lot 176 (now Newell). (c) Fitzwilliam Catal. 954.

Imhoof-Blumer (*Monn. gr.*, p. 5, Nos. 21 ff.), on the strength of a variety on which the head, turned to the left and slightly bearded (or at any rate whiskered), is accompanied by the inscription $\Theta A P P A \Gamma O P A \Sigma$, suggests that Ares or a hero is represented. The trace of whiskers on other specimens is very slight, but just discernible; and the absence of ear-ring and necklace

favours the interpretation of the head as male, and not as Athena. Grose adheres, however, to the latter interpretation.

The magistrate seems to be the same as the *Αθα.* of two other issues: Head of Demeter with long hair to l., crowned with barley (B.M.C. Nos. 106-7; Maclean Catal., Pl. 35, 1: rev. symbol tongs); and Head of Demeter nearly facing, inclined to r., long hair, crowned with barley (B.M.C. No. 117; rev. symbol bucranium).

VELIA.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Athena l., in crested Athenian helmet, of which the bowl is decorated with a branch of olive.

Rev.—Lion bringing down stag l.; on l., ΥΕΛΗΤΩ .

R \nearrow 20.5 mm. Wt. 7.82 grm. (120.7 gr.). Presented anonymously. [Pl. VIII.]

From the same dies as the O'Hagan (lot 72) = Jameson (No. 385) specimen. From the same obverse die, before the flaw on the head had developed so far, was struck the Strozzi (lot 1131) = Pozzi (lot 244) specimen, now in Mr. Robinson's collection.

MESSANA.

3. *Obv.*—Messana driving biga of mules r.; in exergue, olive-spray. Border of dots.

Rev.— ΟΜΕΞΞΑΝΙΟΝ Hare springing r.; below, fly r. Border of dots. Incuse circle.

R \nearrow 27 mm. Wt. 17.03 grm. (262.8 gr.). [Pl. VIII.]

A better specimen, from the same dies as B.M.C. Messana No. 44. The Catalogue wrongly presumes an inscription behind the figure of the nymph.

The relation of the issue with the fly on the reverse with neighbouring issues is indicated by the following

die-combinations (no attempt has been made to compile a complete list):

- I. *Rev.* die *a* (almost exactly similar to the present specimen, but the fly seems to have no legs).

Obv. die A (as the present specimen).

- (*a*) Headlam 77 ex Warren 1905; (*β*) Stiavelli 175; (*γ*) Delbeke 49 = Naville xii. 774; (*δ*) Hirsch vii. 108; (*ε*) Sambon 20 iii. 1905, No. 175; (*ζ*) Bourgey, 29 v. 11, No. 45.

- II. *Rev.* die *b* (perhaps made from *a* by adding the legs to the fly).

Obv. die A.

- (*a*) the present specimen; (*β*) B.M.C. 44.

- III. *Rev.* die *c* (inscr. differently arranged, the fly separating I and O; a flaw joins wing of fly to belly of hare).

Obv. die A.

- (*a*) Brandis (1922) 230; (*β*) Santamaria 27 iii. 1928, 99.

- IV. *Rev.* die *d* (hare to left, above eagle, below ear of barley, **MEΞΞANION** in exergue).

Obv. die A.

- (*a*) B.M.C. 47; (*β*) Archaeologist and Traveller 68 = Hirsch xv. 1052 = Headlam 78.

- V. *Rev.* die *e* (inscr. divided **MEΞΞANI O N**).

Obv. die B (Nike crowning horses; olive-spray in exergue larger).

- (*a*) Luynes 1018; (*β*) Pozzi 491.

- VI. *Rev.* die *f* (inscr. in large letters, divided **ME ΞΞA NI O N**).

Obv. die B.

- (*a*) Weber 1422 = Locker Lampson 74 = Naville xii. 773. (*β*) Naville v. 959. (*γ*) Ciccio (Sambon and Canessa 19 xii. 1907) 214 = Sambon and Canessa 22 vi. 1906, 187.

VII. *Rev. die b.*

Obv. die Z (two dolphins in exergue).

- (a) McClean 2393. (β) Froehner (Ratto 26 iv. 1909)
1212 = Hirsch xix. 203 = Hirsch xxix. 98 =
Hirsch xxxi. 182 = Naville iv. 273.

VII. *Rev. die c.*

Obv. die Z.

- (a) Strozzi 1341; (β) G. Picard 295.

IX. *Rev. die b²* (very close to *b* but inscription is divided
MEΣ Σ AN IO N; large flaw extending from
hind legs between belly of hare and fly).

Obv. die Z.

- (a) B.M.C. No. 43; (β) Warren 211; (γ) Jameson 650;
(δ) Ciccio (Sambon and Canessa 19 xii. 1907)
215 = Hirsch xxxiii. 379; (ε) Egger xlv. 305 =
Naville vi. 411; (ζ) Kreling 124; (η) Maddalena
618; (θ) Hirsch xxxiii. 378; (ι) Luynes 1019.

Through *die Z* the fly issue is linked with other issues, viz. those with the cicada, the ear of barley, and the single dolphin. On none of these does the obverse die seem to be so much used as on the fly issue, which may therefore be placed latest of those for which the two-dolphins-obverse *Z* was used. If so, and there was a regular sequence (which is not, however, certain), the *obv. die A* with the olive spray comes after the *obv. die Z* with the two dolphins, and *B* still later.

Die A seems to have been revived a little later (being slightly rusted) for combination with the reverse (*d*) on which the hare is accompanied by a flying eagle and an ear of barley. That reverse is also found connected with a two-dolphin obverse (B.M.C. 46; Weber 1428; Hirsch xiii. 338; Brandis 231).

SYRACUSE.

4. *Obv.*—Head of Arethusa l. crowned with reeds, wearing triple-drop ear-ring and necklace: around, four dolphins; inscr. $\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\ \text{PA}\ \text{KO}\xi\ \text{I}\Omega\text{N}$ Border of dots.

Rev.—Victorious four-horse chariot to l. as usual, on pedestal adorned with prize armour; inscr. $\text{A}\theta\lambda\alpha$ off the flan.

AR \downarrow 35.5 mm. Wt. 42.90 grm. (662 gr.). Presented anonymously. [PL. VIII.]

An unsigned didrachm of the Euaenetos series. The obverse die has begun to fail; a fine crack extends from the point of the lower leaf of the wreath, which projects over the forehead, to the nose of the lower of the two dolphins in front of the face; a still finer crack appears to join the front of the necklace to the belly-fins of the same dolphin. The dies of both obverse and reverse in about the same state are also represented by the coin formerly in the Evans collection (Archaeologist and Traveller Sale, 104).

5. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus Eleutherios r., bearded, laureate; in front, $\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\text{PAK}[\text{O}\xi\text{I}\Omega\text{N}]$; behind, thunder-bolt.

Rev.—Pegasus flying r.; below, $\Sigma\Omega$.

EL. 12.5 mm. Wt. 2.01 grm. (31 gr.). Presented anonymously. [PL. VIII.]

From the same dies: O'Hagan 231 = McClean 2782?
From the same obv. die: Montagu i. 159 = Pozzi 634.

SICULO-PUNIC.

6. *Obv.*—Female head r., crowned with reeds, wearing triple-drop ear-ring and necklace; in front, two dolphins; behind, poppy-head; border of dots.

Rev.—Horse standing r., r. foreleg raised, in front of palm; broad exergual line.

R † 25.5 mm. Wt. 17.13 grm. (264.3 gr.). Presented anonymously. [Pl. VIII.]

Others from the same pair of dies: (a) Hirsch xiv. 602 = Hirsch xxix. 880; (b) Hirsch xv. 1350.

From same obverse die: Hirsch xix. 652 = (?) Naville iv. 1001 (on the reverse the horse's off hind leg is bent, so that he is walking, not standing).

A second obverse with the same symbol is combined with a third reverse die, closely similar to that just described (Sotheby 19 xii. 1907, 503).

MACEDON. ALEXANDER I.

7. *Obv.*—Horseman riding r.; wears petasos and carries two spears. Border of dots.



Rev.—Head and foreleg of lion r., in linear square, around which $A \Lambda E / \Xi A / \Delta / PO$ all in incuse square.

R → 15.5 mm. Wt. 2.12 grm. (32.7 gr.). [Pl. VIII.]

Cp. the coins with more or less blundered inscription published by Svoronos, *J. Int.*, xix, p. 113, No. 6. The style of the new specimen is slightly barbarous, but the legend is correct, although the first letter is somewhat bungled (it appears to have a Δ engraved beside it).

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

8. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r., wearing crested Athenian helmet, coiled serpent on bowl.

Rev.—Nike standing l., holding wreath and trophy-stand; at her feet, grazing horse; in field l., 
r. .

A ↓ 19.5 mm. Wt. 8.55 grm. (132 gr.) [Pl. VIII.]

Found near Mosul. Corresponds to the tetradrachm, Müller 1354.

PERGAMUM CISTOPHORUS.

9. *Obv.*—Serpents issuing from cista mystica; all in ivy-wreath.

Rev.—Bow and case entwined and flanked by serpents erect; above, in two lines, C·ΣΕΡΤΥΜΙ·Τ·Φ·|
ΠΡΟCΟC; below ΠΟCΕΙΔΩΝΙΟC; on l., monogram of ΠΕΡ downwards; on r., thyrsos entwined by serpent.

A ↑ 29 mm. Wt. 12.26 grm. (189.2 gr.). Not illustrated.

C. Septimius T.f. governed Asia Provincia as proconsul 56–55 B.C. (Münzer in *P.W.*, 2 A, 1561, No. 7). For his Pergamene coinage see H. v. Fritze, *Münzen von Pergamon*, pp. 16 and 91 (Cistophóri of ΚΡΙΤΩΝ and ΠΟCΕΙΔΩΝΙΟC).

IONIA.

10. *Obv.*—The heads of two lions opposed, jaws open; above and below, two uncertain objects.

Rev.—Combination of four incuse impressions: two small squares; between them two rectangles, one longer and narrower than the other; these last two impressions are run together.

EL. 20 × 16.5 mm. Wt. 14.26 grm. (220.1 gr.). Sp. G. 13.82 = about 52 per cent. gold. [Pl. VIII.]

Typical Ionian work of the seventh century; a stater of the "Phoenician" standard. Owing to the smallness of the flan, the two objects above and below the

opposed lions' heads are only partially visible, and I can make no plausible suggestion as to what they are.

11. *Obv.*—Forepart of goat lying r., only one foreleg showing, on plain exergual line.

Rev.—Oblong between two square incuses.

EL. 23 × 17 mm. Wt. 14.28 grm. (220.4 gr.). Sp. G. 13.09 = about 42 per cent. gold. [Pl. VIII.]

This was acquired from a Constantinople dealer; the place of finding was not certainly indicated, and Smyrna, which was mentioned as the town from which it came, merely means that it was brought thither for sale. The type appears to be new for Ionian electrum. The style is rather flat, but not flatter than that of the coins with the recumbent lion. The exergual line is a feature which apparently does not occur on other electrum coins of the period; possibly, however, it is part of a square frame which, if the flan were large enough, would enclose the design, as on the lion coins above-mentioned.

CNIDUS.

12. *Obv.*—Head of Artemis r., bow and quiver behind shoulder.

Rev.—Tripod; on r. downwards ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ; on l. downwards ΠΟΛΥΧΑ[P]ΜΟΣ

AR ↑ 15 mm. Wt. 2.31 grm. (35.7 gr.). [Pl. VIII.]

A new magistrate for the period 300–190 B.C.

13. *Obv.*—Confronted busts of Caracalla r. (laureate, in paludamentum and cuirass) and Plautilla l.; in arcs above ΑΥΚΜΑΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC and below Φ[O]ΥΒΙΠΑΛΑΥΤΙ Border of dots.

Rev.—The Cnidian Aphrodite and Asklepios (as on B.M.C. Cnidus 100); on l. upwards ΚΝΙ, on r. downwards ΔΙΩΝ.

Æ ↓ 33.5 mm. Wt. 19.14 grm. (295.4 gr.). [Pl. VIII.]

Although this hardly adds anything new to our knowledge of the Cnidian Aphrodite, it is better preserved than the British Museum specimen hitherto published.¹ The left hand appears to hold up something and not merely to support the drapery, but this is probably illusory.

The gentile name of the Empress is written **ΦΟΥΒΙΑ**, the **Λ** (or **P**, as on the earlier British Museum specimen²) being accidentally omitted.

ARMENIA. ABDISSARES.

14. *Obv.*—Head of king r., bearded, wearing tiara, open and diademed. Border of dots.

Rev.—Eagle standing r. On r. downwards **ΒΑΣΙΛΑ** . .
on l. downwards **ΑΒΔΙΣΣΑ** . .

Æ ↑ 17.5 mm. Wt. 3.01 grm. (46.5 gr.). [Pl. VIII.]

Procured in Mesopotamia. A denomination between the "chalkous" and the "dilepta" published by Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, pp. 211-12, Nos. 3-5.

As to the date of this king, Baumgartner (in *P.W.*, i. 26) regards him as most probably the father of the Xerxes who in 215 B.C. made peace with Antiochus III of Syria at Arsamosata (see the references in Th. Reinach, *L'histoire par les monnaies*, p. 240). Abdissares is not mentioned by the historians; and as to Xerxes, it is not certain with which Antiochus he made peace (see the discussion in Babelon, pp. cxcv f.).

¹ See especially the enlargement of the earlier B.M. specimen and other representations on Cnidian coins in Blinkenberg, *Den Knidiske Afrodite* (1919), pp. 33 f. The Arolsen specimen (*J.H.S.* 1887, p. 340) is about as well preserved as the new one, but does not show the feet of the statue, and the pot is blurred.

² See Regling in *Z.f.N.* 1902, p. 195, for the spelling *Furvia*.

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The coins can hardly be so early as the acceptance of Baumgartner's view would necessitate. Babelon's date of about 200 B. C. seems more probable.

SALAMIS. NIKODAMOS AND LACHARIDAS.

15. *Obv.*—Ram lying l. ; above *pa-si-le* ; below, *ni-ko-la*.

Rev.—Ankh, in ring of which *pa* ; around it


ri la
ta ka incuse square.

R ↓ 12.5 mm. Wt. 1.51 grm. (23.3 gr.). [Pl. VIII.]

A diobol of the couple Nikodamos and Lacharidas, similar to the Berlin specimen, B.M.C., *Cyprus*, Pl. XXIII. 21. A fine specimen of the tetrobol, from the Massy collection, was acquired in 1925 (B.M.C. Pl. XXIII. 19), and two obols in 1923 (*Num. Chr.*, 1924, p. 13, No. 18).

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX (?).

16. *Obv.*—Head r. diademed. Border of dots.

Rev.—Apollo, nude (edge of garment over r. thigh), seated l. on omphalos, against which his bow rests ; holds arrow in r. ; on r. downwards ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, on l. downwards ΑΝΤΙ ΟΧΟΥ ; in field l. Α
r. .

R ↑ 28.5. Wt. 17.11 grm. (264.1 gr.). Presented anonymously.

G. F. HILL.

VIII.

THE PRE-REFORM COINAGE OF DIOCLETIAN AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

[SEE PLATES IX-X.]

GAIUS VALERIUS DIOCLETIANUS, then nearly forty years old, was declared Emperor by the Army of the East, after the death of Numerian in the autumn of A. D. 284 (the generally accepted date being September 17), but only acquired power in central and western Europe in the spring of the next year, after the battle of Margus and the subsequent murder of Carinus. About two months later he associated with himself in the empire Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, a somewhat younger man, rough and of peasant birth, but of great military ability.

Historians believe that Maximian was created Caesar in 285 and Augustus only in 286, but numismatic evidence of his tenure of the lower rank is wanting, for his coinage as Augustus commenced in 285 and no coins with the title of Caesar can properly be attributed to him. The two emperors assumed the respective surnames of Jovius and Herculus, and Diocletian took personal charge of the East, while the West fell to Maximian. In March 293 the emperors associated with themselves as Caesars, Flavius Valerius Constantius (surnamed Chlorus) in the West, and Galerius Valerius Maximianus in the East.

The tribunician power of Diocletian is reckoned regularly from 284 onwards, and that of Maximian

from 285. Their consulates, as far as they are of importance to these notes, were assumed as follows:

<i>Diocletian</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Maximian</i>	<i>Date</i>
I	284	I	287
II	285	II	288
III	287	III	290
IIII	290	IIII	293
V	293	V	297
VI	296		

The two Caesars became consuls for the first time in 294, the second consulship of Constantius falling in 296 and that of Galerius in 297.

When Diocletian came to the throne he found the monetary system of Aurelian, or perhaps we should say, of Caracalla, still in force. Aurei, which were then being struck at 60 to the lb. of gold,¹ were fairly numerous, but the great burden of the currency was borne by the antoniniani, struck in an alloy containing a small percentage of silver, but consisting principally of copper, and covered with a thin silver-wash which quickly succumbed to wear, but appears to have indicated their position in the silver series. A very few denarii of like composition had been struck by some recent emperors, and some of Diocletian and Maximian are found, but are of great rarity. Similar quinarii were, and continued to be, somewhat more common. Sestertii had not been issued since the reign of Aurelian, but some few of the smaller denominations of true bronze were in circulation; among them a small coin which was perhaps a semis. Asses

¹ During the life of Carus the ratio was lower, 70 or even 72 to the lb. The coins show the lower weight, but by analogy to the first fixed standard of Diocletian it may well be that the ratio of 70 was aimed at, but badly observed.

and semisses were struck in very small numbers by both our emperors, always at Rome. They did not strike sestertii or dupondii.

It is not proposed to discuss the Reform in these notes, but it may be shortly stated that it involved the issue of silver denarii and the introduction of a new species of coin, the follis, with various fractions thereof. Coins similar in general appearance to the antoniniani were still struck, but there does not appear to be evidence that they were silver-washed,² and it may well be that Diocletian, being unable to withdraw from circulation the immense numbers of the antoniniani of his predecessors which were in existence, received them into his new system at the tariff value to which they had, in consequence of their baseness, fallen in actual purchasing power. He must have taken some step to reduce the loss to his subjects, whose pockets were full of these coins.

Diocletian found the following mints in existence on his accession, viz :

1. Lugdunum	. . .	4 officinae	
2. Rome	. . .	7	"
3. Ticinum	. . .	6	"
4. Siscia	. . .	3	"
5. Cyzicus	. . .	6	"
6. Antioch	. . .	9	" afterwards 10
7. Tripolis	. . .	2	"

² The British Museum Laboratory has kindly analysed one of these coins struck by Diocletian at Cyzicus immediately after the Reform. No trace of silver was found either on the surface or in the mass of the coin. Its contents were—

Copper	. . .	88.84 per cent.
Tin	. . .	1.00 "
Lead	. . .	2.28 "
Cuprous oxide, &c.		7.88 "
		<u>100.00</u> "

and to these he added before the Reform new mints at :

8. Treviri, with 2 officinae, removed thither from Lugdunum shortly before the Reform.

9. Heraclea, with 6 officinae, said to have been opened in 291. Alexandria was working in the Greek series, but the possibility that it struck some pre-reform aurei will be discussed below. Aquileia, Carthage, Thessalonica, and Nicomedia were certainly not opened before the Reform. Serdica had been closed by Carus, and was not reopened till after that event. Shortly before the end of the reign of Carinus Siscia had fallen into the hands of the usurper Julian of Pannonia (284-5), and it is doubtful whether it was reopened by Carinus between his defeat of Julian near Verona and his own death a month or two later after the battle with Diocletian at Margus. Coinage of Carus and his family from this mint is scarce, and both aurei and antoniniani of Julian are very rare. As we find its earlier coins of our two emperors also scarce, it is probable that it was not in very active operation until shortly before the Reform.

Lugdunum, Rome, and Antioch were very prolific; Ticinum somewhat less so. Tripolis was never responsible for large issues, and struck antoniniani only.

The coinage, as in former reigns, fell into three classes on style and fabric according to the districts from which it issued; the western from Lugdunum, and later also from Treviri, the central from Rome, Ticinum, and Siscia, and the eastern from the other mints. Little difficulty arises in distinguishing the output of one district from that of another, but the work of the individual mints in each district showed a tendency to assimilation, particularly in the lettering.

Lugdunum adhered closely to its peculiarities, the widespread base of **M** and the sharp point of **V** [Pl. IX. 1]; but many indications, helpful in the past, such as the Siscian **G**, the twisted **V** of Cyzicus and the loosely constructed **M** of both Rome and Antioch, had in great measure disappeared. Tripolis was still peculiar for the bad draughtsmanship of its portraits and the irregularity of its lettering. Its coins and those of Lugdunum are unmistakable, but it is often difficult to attribute correctly the unmarked coins, principally aurei of the central mints.

Mint-marks on aurei, except those of Antioch, were rare before the Reform, but fortunately became almost universal under it. City-marks also became common on the coins of lower position in the tariff. The western and central mints used numerous reverse types before the Reform, but the eastern mints confined their antoniniani to a very few.³ The obverse legends do not give much assistance, and there was a considerable tendency in the early years of Diocletian and Maximian to use similar series of mint-marks in several mints, and to omit the city-letters, particularly at Rome, Siscia, and Cyzicus. Rome rarely used **R**, Lugdunum occasionally wrote **SML**, Ticinum almost always used **T**, and Tripolis **TR**. The last mentioned mark was adopted by Treviri, but the style of its coins is so distinct from that of the eastern mint that there can be no confusion between them. Antioch, Cyzicus, Heraclea, and sometimes Siscia, all used marks which comprised Greek numerals in the field and **XXI** in the exergue. In some series dots were added to these marks, and

³ The oriental fondness for types of two figures persisted.

indications of origin may be drawn from their number and position. Cyzicus, in one series, revived an old mint peculiarity by placing a dot on the obverse under the bust.

Such were the conditions which Diocletian found in existence, and it is evident that he had their modification in mind for some considerable time before he completed his Reform. The exact date of that measure is still a matter of speculation. Some authors have placed it as late as 296; and its earliest possible date seems to be 293. Some have considered that it commenced in the East in 293 and in the West in 295, a view which seems to lack probability, for the history of third-century coinage shows that communication between the various mints was rapid, and changes almost simultaneous, and it can hardly be doubted that the existence of different Latin monetary systems in the main divisions of the empire for a period of two years would have produced confusion and inconvenience. Again we shall see that, in certain measures taken in preparation for the Reform, Rome was at least as prompt as the eastern mints. There is, however, some ground for the opinion, for though the issues of *antoniniani* of Lugdunum and, in a slightly less degree, of the central mints, are so numerous and varied as to call for the later date, the eastern mints used so few types (one, two or three only), throughout the period that their evidence by itself might suggest that the change took place earlier in the East than in the West.

The dated coins do not furnish any conclusive evidence. Lugdunum struck pre-reform *antoniniani* for Maximian which bear the legend **PM TR P VIII**

COS IIII, and should, according to the consulate, have been issued in 293, but the eighth tribuniciate of the emperor falls into the previous year. When we find that a similar inscription was used for Diocletian, whose eighth tribuniciate fell in 291 during his fourth consulate, it appears probable that the moneyer inadvertently used one of his inscriptions on a coin of his colleague, and that the coins of both are of 291. Coins of the fifth consulate of Diocletian are, however, probably pre-reform.

Coins commemorating the Decennalia of the emperors appear to be of pre-reform style. The festival of Diocletian should have been celebrated in 294 and that of his colleague a year later, but, in view of the tendency to anticipate the proper date of such celebrations which has been noted in other reigns, we have no difficulty in believing that the date of these coins may be, for both emperors, 293. At best they do not carry us beyond 294.

The evidence of the dated coins of Alexandria is discussed by Voetter,⁴ Dattari,⁵ Kubitschek,⁶ and others. The Alexandrian year commenced on September 1, and terminated on August 29 next ensuing, and the numeral of the first year of Diocletian appears on coins of 284-5, and that of Maximian on those of 285-6. The last coins struck for them in the Greek series are dated **L IB**, the twelfth year of Diocletian, and **L IA**, the eleventh of Maximian, that is 295-6,

⁴ "Römische Münzprägung in Alexandria" in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1911, pp. 171 ff.

⁵ *Revue Numismatique*, 1904, pp. 394 ff.

⁶ *Abhandl. der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophische-historische Klasse*, 1928.

but confusion is introduced by the fact that the mint fell into the hands of Domitius Domitianus, the Alexandrian usurper, who struck both in the old Greek series and the new Latin one. The historians unfortunately leave the length and exact date of his reign in doubt, but the best opinion places the end of it in 296. He struck the old and new coinages simultaneously.

On the whole, we may accept 295 as the most probable year of the Reform.

At the beginning of the reign no change was made in the coinage; the mints continued to work in the old style. The reverse inscriptions of the sole coinage of Diocletian do not of course show the plural termination (**AVCC**) which appears as soon as Maximian was raised to the throne, and these coins may thus be dated. The singular termination (**AVG**) was used by Maximian on a very few pre-reform coins, probably by a moneyer's error.

Diocletian gave early attention to the gold coinage and varied its weight from time to time.

Seeck[†] summarizes these changes as follows:

1. A.D. 286. Irregular weights, frequently falling below 4 grammes, say 61.7 grains.

Such coins exist in the central mints, but I doubt if they continue to so late a date as 286, and they are so rare that one may reasonably consider them as the result of carelessness or accident, rather than as an authorized series, especially as the sons of Carus had, as above-mentioned, been striking at 60 to the lb.

2. Before 290, coins struck at 70 to the lb. of gold, i.e. at a normal 4.68 grammes, or 72.2 grains.

[†] *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xvii, pp. 36 ff.

These coins are found in considerable numbers and, when issued from Antioch, they bear the Greek $\Theta = 70$. They, like aurei in all reigns, show variations in weight, but represent a definite standard, and are found in all mints which struck in gold. Some of them appear to be of the sole reign of Diocletian.

3. *Circa 290.* Coins at 60 to the lb., 5.45 grammes or 84.2 grains, marked at Antioch with various forms of the numeral $\Xi = 60$.

Here again, in spite of a somewhat wide margin of variation, the class is clear, and is found at Lugdunum, Rome, Ticinum, Cyzicus, and Antioch and perhaps at Siscia. These coins continued to be struck after the Reform, which was based on an aureus of this weight. It may be noted that the numeral on the coins of Antioch is in the field of many pre-reform coins, and almost uniformly in the exergue after that event. The comparatively few radiate aurei of the period which exist fall into this class, and their weights show that they do not represent a higher denomination than the laureate pieces, as they usually did under previous emperors. They are only found in the central mints. There are, however, a few larger radiate pieces usually classed as Medallions.

4. A few coins struck at 50 to the lb., 6.54 grammes or 101 grains.

They occur before the Reform but are very scarce, and I have only found them at Antioch. It is difficult to suggest a good reason for them, for they again do not sufficiently exceed the weight of the normal aurei as to indicate they are of a higher tariff denomination. If they are they must represent three quinari.

In addition to these changes of weight the emperor made an outstanding variation in the style of the aurei by substituting a head, generally in good relief, for the bust with drapery, or cuirass, with which the public had long been familiar, and introducing the short obverse legends commencing with the name of the emperor, and frequently consisting only of that name and the title **AVGVSTVS** or, at Rome, **P F AVG**. We may suppose that he did so to prepare men's minds for the forthcoming drastic change in style and tariff.

We might well consider these new style pieces as reformed, but the dates on some of them preclude it.⁸ The emperor found a competent artist to assist in this alteration; one who might at least have worked in the early part of the second century without disgracing his colleagues. He produced dignified and handsome portraits of both the emperors. The heads are somewhat narrow and the profile long, with well-marked features. We may perhaps offer the criticism that they are idealistic for, except for a rather more up-turned nose, it is difficult to distinguish Maximian from his colleague. Diocletian may have had some claim to be considered handsome, and indeed the aurei of Lugdunum and some coins of Rome suggest that he had, though in a very different style, but these portraits must have done more than justice to the coarse, plebeian features of his colleague.

These new heads are found on coins of Diocletian

⁸ There is a coin of Diocletian in the Viennese collection (Coh. 273) which combines the singular termination **AVG** with the laureate head and the above abbreviated obverse inscription. The style of the coin is of course inconsistent with that of the year 284.

inscribed **CONSVL** and **COS IIII** (290 to 292), on those of Maximian inscribed **CONSVL III**, of the same date, on coins of both emperors inscribed **P M TR P P P**, which cannot, on style, be of the early part of the reign,⁹ and with some other reverse types. [Pl. IX. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.]

It would be very convenient to consider them as the first of the new design and other heads as somewhat unsatisfactory copies of them by less competent engravers, but the facts seem to forbid the acceptance of this theory, for a very inferior, but somewhat similar, head is to be found on a coin of the third consulate of Diocletian and on one of the second consulate of Maximian,¹⁰ and it is not possible to date the Reform so as to include coins which cannot be later than 290. The existence of these coins, which on style must be attributed to the mint of Rome, also challenges another very attractive theory, namely that the first steps towards reform were taken at Antioch, the chief mint of the east, under the direct power of Diocletian, and spread thence over the empire.¹¹

Before discussing the dissemination of the new style of aureus it is necessary to mention a second design which is of much merit. A number of coins often inscribed **CONCORDIAE AVGG NN** of both emperors bear heads which are almost square, with sharply out-pointed nose and chin, and show a more rounded jaw and thicker beard and whiskers than the

⁹ The absence of numerals from a coin of tribunician or consular type which cannot be of the first year of a reign has been observed in other periods.

¹⁰ Cf. Caruso Catalogue, Canessa 1923, Lots 499 and 521.

¹¹ Diocletian was frequently resident at Nicomedia.

portraits above described. The expression of the faces is extraordinarily alert and virile. [Pl. IX. 7, 8, 9.] In these two portraits, both of surprising excellence, the art of this late period reached its culmination. Whether both are the work of the same engraver may be questioned, but I venture to think that they are, notwithstanding their considerable differences. Few, if any, other coins of the time carry such a sense of power, and, for what it is worth, the inscriptions on both types appear to be the work of the same hand. It must be noted that there are coins of all the above-mentioned reverse types which show similar busts, less powerful portraits, and often lower relief and less artistic technique, which are certainly the work of other engravers, and possibly of another mint.

The question of the attribution of all these coins is of great importance and considerable difficulty. Their style dates them in or near 290. Most numismatists agree that they are eastern, either of Antioch or Cyzicus, two mints which worked in close connexion with each other. It may well be that they were issued by both. The profile of the first-described portrait is certainly foreshadowed on the early coins of Antioch, flat and poorly executed though they be, and on the other hand it is closely approached on certain coins generally attributed to Cyzicus, which bear the reverse legend **FATIS VICTRICIBVS** with the exergual mark **S C**. This unusual legend is also found at Antioch. [Pl. X. 3.]

We find similar lettering to that of the finest specimens of our two types on coins of Maximian reading **CONSVL IIII** and bearing the mark of Antioch, and on later coins of that mint. We can also see how the

type described second above gradually degenerates on marked coins of that mint towards the heavy, conventional and unpleasing portraits which are characteristic of the completed Reform. The alert expression gives place to a certain smugness,¹² and the beard and whisker become mere thick rolls of felt. [Pl. IX. 10.] The lettering of Cyzicus, though often larger, was looser than that of Antioch, and something like it will be found on the less strong and virile varieties of the types described above. There seems, therefore, to be tangible ground for allotting the types **CONCORDIAE AVGG NN** and **CONSVL IIII P P PROCOS** (or in the case of Maximian, **CONSVL III**), to both these mints, giving the better work to Antioch. The earlier coinage of that mint shows continuous improvement up to this date.

The mint of Rome adopted the new style quite as soon as that of Antioch, indeed sooner, for, as we have seen, coins of that mint dated in the third consulate of the elder and the second of the younger emperor bear it,¹³ but the portraiture is very inferior to either of those described above, and gives to both emperors an expression of senility. Rome occasionally reverted to the bust on its later coinage, but even on such pieces that expression remains. [Pl. IX. 11.] That it is of Rome is certain, for it is often coupled with the exergual letters **PR** or **PROM**. The latter mark is always post-reform; the former, I think, was used both before and after it. A very similar post-reform bust

¹² Different from the less powerful expression mentioned above.

¹³ These coins cannot be later than 289, and may be of 288. The new head cannot be certainly shown to have appeared at Antioch before 290.

was used at Ticinum. Lugdunum and its daughter mint Treviri were apparently slow to abandon the bust and only did so under the Reform. When a head appears, the portrait is still in Gallic style. I do not find any gold of Treviri which I can suppose to have been struck before the Reform.

Several coins of Maximian which bear radiate cuirassed busts are marked **SMT** [Pl. IX. 12], and there are other unmarked pieces which can perhaps be attributed to Ticinum, but no pre-reform coins in the new style have, so far as I can ascertain, been recorded, and I have failed to find coins of Diocletian which correspond to those of his colleague that bear the mark **SMT**. Probably they do exist, for it is unlikely that a mint struck for one emperor and not for the other. All the evidence of the antoniniani points in the other direction, for both emperors seem to have shared each issue of each mint, though they did not always use the same reverse types. Contrary to the practice of many reigns they did not, as a rule, divide the officinae between them, and we generally find each officina working for both of them at the same time.

Ticinum had, under the House of Carus, adopted a plump, well-rounded and somewhat youthful portrait and bust, and made so little alteration for the new emperors that, but for the legends, it might be difficult to attribute the antoniniani. There is a laureate aureus of Maximian, Cohen 235, **HERCVLI CONSERVAT**, which seems to show something of this style and to be attributable to this mint, as also does the figured coin last above referred to.

The style of Siscia was sufficiently like that of Rome to render it possible that the apparent absence of pre-

reform aurei of the former may arise from the erroneous attribution of some of them to the latter mint, but the facts with reference to Siscia above stated seem to indicate that it was not very active, at least at first, and it may be that the coins cannot be found because they were not struck. A radiate coin of Maximian in the French Collection seems to me to be so clearly akin to some of the antoniniani that I venture to attribute it to Siscia.

Col. Voetter¹⁴ was only able to discover one antoninianus which he could attribute to the mint during the short sole reign of Diocletian. Though he speaks of it later as "fruitful", and attributes a number of reverses to it, it is difficult to acquire specimens of its coins in Western Europe, and there are but few in the National Collection. The great collection of antoniniani at the Ashmolean Museum does, however, include them in considerable numbers, and they are, I am told, by no means uncommon in Eastern finds. The abandonment of the distinctive marks of Carus and his family, **SMSXXIA**, &c., in favour of the series $\frac{I}{XXIA}$ and $\frac{A}{XXI}$, which were used by several other mints (the former series appearing at Rome), tends to obscure the attribution of even the antoniniani, and to render error possible.

For one such error at least I am responsible,¹⁵ for in a former paper I attributed to Rome the series in which the letters **IOBI**, for Diocletian, and **HPKOYAI**,

¹⁴ "Die Kupferprägungen der Diocletianischen Tetrarchie" in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1899, a work which is essential to the student of this period, and to which the author of these notes is indebted in the highest degree.

¹⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1921, p. 267.

for Maximian, are embodied in the mint-marks. That error I now recant in favour of Voetter's attribution to Siscia. It may be noted that a number of these coins bear a head or a nude bust, and to that extent follow the style of the new aurei. [Pl. X. 1, 2.]

My views as to this mint will not be unchallenged, for certain aurei which I attribute to Cyzicus have been thought to be of Siscia. Some doubt has been expressed as to the attribution of the mark **S C** to Cyzicus, but as to this I think I shall have the valuable support of Professor Alföldi and other numismatists.¹⁶ Cyzicus had already used the City-letter **C** on numerous antoniniani and on some aurei, though for the latter it preferred **K**.

I have referred above to the use by two mints, Antioch and, as I think, Cyzicus, of the unusual reverse **FATIS VICTRICIBVS** coupled in one case with **S C**. [Pl. X. 3]. It is at least much more likely that Antioch shared this type with its neighbour Cyzicus than with the distant central mint of Siscia. That it did so becomes, I submit, clear when we compare the coins with the antoniniani of Cyzicus of the reigns under consideration, and with an aureus of Carinus in the National Collection which bears the reverse legend **ADVENTVS AVGG N N** and the mint-mark $\frac{1}{C}$ [Pl. X. 4] for similar busts appear on them, and no coins attributed to Siscia resemble them, except perhaps some, but not all, of the rare aurei of Julian, which show something of the same style.

¹⁶ The mark **S C** has been attributed to Antioch and Serdica during previous reigns, but not to Siscia. The coins under discussion are unlike the contemporary style of Antioch.

I am equally convinced that certain other aurei which have been thought to be of Siscia, namely those which bear the legends **CONCORDIA AVGG, IOVI CONSERVATORI ORBIS, MARTI VLTORI, VICTORIA AVG, VIRTVS AVG**, &c., are of Cyzicus [Pl. X. 6, 7], for here again the busts, though differing in small measure from those on the coins marked **SC**, have also their counterparts on the antoniniani of that mint. The coins are, I think, of earlier date than those marked **SC** which I attribute to about 289 or 290. [Pl. X. 8.] The contemporary style of Antioch is shown on Pl. X. 5.

That the antoniniani are (notwithstanding the use of mint-marks common to several mints), correctly attributed to Cyzicus becomes also clear on comparing them with like coins of Carus, Carinus and Numerian of that mint, as well as with the aureus of Carinus mentioned above. The lettering is similar, the portraits are so in a marked degree, and there is a method of depicting the drapery on the bust which is common to all of them; the mantle is in numerous folds, fastened by a brooch in the centre of the chest. If we go back to the coins of Probus which bear the city-letter **C** we still find sufficient resemblance to support the view put forward.

Another interesting question arises with reference to a certain series of antoniniani of the period which Voetter attributes to Cyzicus and Antioch. They bear the only reverse type which was used by the former mint on coins of that denominations, **CONCORDIA MILITVM**, an emperor receiving Victory on a globe from Jupiter, and are marked $\frac{A}{XXI}$, &c., a mark which,

as we have seen, is unfortunately common to both these and to some other mints. The reverse itself is common to Heraclea and Cyzicus (being in each case the only type employed), and is found on one coin attributed to Siscia and also, subject to the question under consideration, appears on one series at Antioch.

The position therefore lends itself to doubt and confusion. The coins, treating the series as a whole, bear the marks of ten officinae; the only mint then working in so many officinae being Antioch, for there is no evidence that Cyzicus added to its original six.

Voetter¹⁷ attributes the first six officinae **A—S** to Cyzicus and the remaining four, **Z, H, ΕΔ** and **I**, to Antioch. He fortifies this attribution by pointing to the various divisions of **MILITVM** by the top of the sceptre of Jupiter and otherwise, which he classes as follows:

Cyzicus. **MILITVM, M-ILITVM** (which he also gives to Siscia), **MI-LITVM** and **MIL-ITVM**.

Heraclea. **MILI-TVM** and **MIL-ITVM**.

Antioch. **MI-L-I-TVM**.

I find this division to be correct in many cases, but not in all, and particularly not in Antioch, and therefore do not rely on it here.

The idea of the division of a series of coins between two mints is difficult of acceptance, for it seems to involve a negation of the whole purpose of mint-marking, i.e. the division of the work of mints, and the fixing of responsibility for their output, and one can only accept it with hesitation and distaste. I rejected a similar idea when classifying the coins of Tacitus¹⁸

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 298, 299, 304, 305.

¹⁸ *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. v, part I, pp. 237 ff.

and was severely criticized therefor. It appears that there was, in the Viennese Museum, a manuscript work on the reign written by Dr. Kolb, which had most regrettably remained many years unpublished, and was not brought to my notice when I was working there. Kolb took the view that certain reverses used at Ticinum (or, as he erroneously called it, Tarraco), were also used at Siscia, and that the latter mint placed on them mint-marks similar to those in issue by the former.¹⁹ The attribution was made on the ground of the style of the coins alone. Later, the British Museum acquired a very complete collection of the antoniniani of the reign and, on examination of it, found against my view. I accept the decision, and must go warily in considering the present case.

One fact in support of Voetter's attribution is that the obverse legends of the coins of the first six officinae differ from those on the remaining four. Cyzicus then used on antoniniani **IMP C C VAL DIOCLETIANVS AVG.** only, while Antioch always added the titles **P F.** That difference appears between the two parts of this series.

The bust on the coins of Cyzicus which is found on the aurei and antoniniani compared above is small and narrow [Pl. X. 9], but those on the coins of this series are broad, very much in the style which is found on the antoniniani of Antioch [Pl. X. 10, 11]. This would suggest the attribution of the whole series to that mint, but on referring to the post-reform bronze

¹⁹ If further evidence is required to settle the old Tarraco-Ticinum controversy, surely we have it here. It can hardly be contended that a Spanish mint and one in central Europe were working in such close connexion.

coins of Cyzicus which bear the city letter K, we find that the small bust has been abandoned for one which is at least as broad as that on the series under consideration. [Pl. X. 12.]

It is, therefore, no valid objection to Voetter's decision that a broad bust is used, and he gains further support from the fact that the special arrangement of the drapery mentioned above as being constant on the small bust of Cyzicus appears on the coins of the first six, and not on those of the remaining four officinae.²⁰

I must therefore accept, though very unwillingly, the view of Col. Voetter, but I still hope that it may one day be possible to show that the real explanation is that a moneyer of Cyzicus was transferred to Antioch, and engraved for certain officinae there using his own technique, while the other officers adhered to theirs, and that a similar explanation may fit the case of Tacitus. Or it may be that the two mints were, for a time, practically amalgamated and working as one. It may be noted that these difficulties always occur in the case of two mints which were situated comparatively near together, and may well have assisted each other in times of emergency.

Other difficulties in the attribution of aurei arise from the frequency with which types in honour of

²⁰ Almost all the pre-reform busts in both metals which I have attributed to Cyzicus show similar drapery, and its evidence in favour of Voetter's theory is therefore cogent to the discussion. I feel, however, that too great importance must not be attached to it, because the arrangement is a common one. Probus used it constantly at Antioch, and rarely at Siscia. Even after his reign I have found it on a coin of Numerian at Antioch, but I do not find it there or at Siscia under Diocletian or Maximian.

Jupiter and Hercules were employed by the two emperors, and the number of mints that issued them.

Jupiter is usually addressed as **CONSERVATOR AVGVSTI**,²¹ and the variations of legend are numerous. The following table shows those which were used before the Reform; several of them were also used after that event, and some new varieties were introduced. The table gives the mints which struck the pre-reform varieties and the principal denominations on which they were employed. Some of them also appear on denarii, quinarii, asses, and semisses, all of which were struck at Rome.

The types are varied; Jupiter standing or walking, with thunderbolt and sceptre, and sometimes with an eagle, or more rarely, a globe at foot, were the most common forms. Sometimes at Ticinum he has a small figure of the emperor before him, and there are numerous other small varieties. A seated figure is found on the *Iovi Augg* coins in Lugdunum and once at Ticinum, but more generally that type appears on post-reform coins.

Types depicting Hercules are not so common on aurei before the Reform as after it. On both aurei and antoniniani they are often used in conjunction with the legends **VIRTVS AVGG** or **AVGVSTORVM** and **VIRTVTI AVGG**. Legends comprising the name of the god describe him as **CONSERVATOR**, **INVICTVS**, **PACIFER**, or **VICTOR**. Both the emperors used them, but they are of course much the more common under Maximian. The antoniniani bearing these reverses are found only at Lugdunum, Rome, and

²¹ He also appears occasionally as *Fulgurator*, *Propugnator*, *Tutator*, *Ultor*, and *Victor*.

	LUGDUNUM	ROME	TICINUM	SISCIA	CYZICUS	ANTIOCH	TRIPOLIS
IOVI AVGG	Ant.	—	—	—	—	—	—
IOVI CONSER AVGG	Ant.	—	Ant.	—	—	—	—
IOVI CONSERVAT AVG	Ant.	N Ant.	—	—	—	—	—
IOVI CONSERVAT AVGG	Ant.	N Ant.	N ²²	N?	—	—	—
IOVI CONSERVATORI	N Ant.	N	—	N? Ant.	N	N	—
IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG	—	N Ant.	—	—	—	N Ant.	Ant.
IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG	Ant.	Ant.	—	—	N	N Ant.	Ant.
IOVI CONSERVATORI ORBIS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
IOV ET HERCV CONSER AVGG	—	—	—	—	—	Ant.	Ant.
IOVI ET HERCVLI CONS AVGG	—	N Ant.	—	Ant.	—	—	—
IOVI FVLGERATORI	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
IOVI PROPVG NAT	—	—	Ant.	—	—	—	—
IOVI TVTATORI AVGG	Ant.	—	—	—	—	—	—
IOVI VICTORI	—	Ant.	—	—	—	—	—
IOVI VLTORI	—	—	—	—	—	N	—

²² These coins bear the mark SMT.

Ticinum. The aurei came from the same mints but were not limited to them, for pre-reform aurei inscribed **VIRTVTI HERCVLIS** at Cyzicus and **HERCVLI VICTORI** at Rome and Antioch are noted. The Eastern mints allowed themselves more freedom of choice of legends and types for their aurei than for other coins.

I have not found any gold coins of either of the Caesars which were certainly issued before the Reform, except perhaps one of Constantius Chlorus as Caesar, inscribed **CONCORDIAE AVGG N N**, which is in the National Collection. Its style leads me to think that it may have been a later revival of the legend and type.

In the above pages I have endeavoured to give reasons for my conclusions, and the evidence for and against them, except where, as on the question of the date of the Reform, a long discussion would be involved. In that case I have given references to several modern dissertations on the subject. My readers can, therefore, form their own opinions as to the soundness of mine, and of the following attempt to attribute the pre-reform aurei which I base on them. The numerous gold coins struck in honour of Jupiter have been dealt with above, and I venture to attribute the others as follows, the numbers being those of Cohen, unless otherwise stated.²³

²³ The variations in style of the unmarked coins which are attributed both to Antioch and Cyzicus are often slight, and their attribution is a matter of much difficulty; the fact that no mint-mark is used has provided an argument against the attribution of any of them to Antioch. I venture, however, to think that the identity of the workmanship of some of them with that of coins bearing the mark of Antioch nullifies that argument.

LUGDUNUM.

Diocletian. **MARS VICTOR.** 313. **VICTORIA AVG** 465. Banduri publishes, but Cohen omits, an aureus, **IOVI AVGG**, presumably of this mint. I have not found it, but its existence seems probable.

Maximian. **COS III.** 89. The mint-mark, a club, is of this mint. **SALVS AVGG.** 512 and a variety, **IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG.** Laureate bust to left in lion's skin, with club on shoulder. Sir A. Evans Coll., Naville 1922, Lot 164. **VIRTVS AVGG.** 562-3.

ROME.

Diocletian. **COS III.** Emperor standing left. Caruso Coll., Canessa 1923, Lot 499. **ORIENS AVG.** 349. **PRIMIS X MVLTI XX.** 390.²⁴ **VICTORIA AETERNA.** 462-3.

Maximian. **COS II.** 86-7. **HERCVLI VICTORI.** 302. **VIRTVS AVGG.** 560-1 and, perhaps (as it may be post-reform), 591.

TICINUM.

Diocletian. None identified.

Maximian. **HERCVLI CONSERVAT.** 235.

SISCIA.

Some **IOVI** coins are of this mint. Others are dealt with by Prof. Alföldi in the present number, pp. 280 f.

CYZICUS.

Diocletian. **CONCORDIA AVGG.** 24. **CONCORDIAE AVGG NN.** 37-8. **CONSVL IIII P P PROCOS.** 46-7. **COS III.** 54. **COS IIII.** 55. **FATIS VICTRICIBVS.** 57-8. **MARTI VLTORI.** 319. **P M TR P P P. ROMAE AETERNAE,** 431. **VICTORI AVG.** Victory galloping to right in biga. B.M. **VIRTVS AVG.** 493.

²⁴ Cohen quotes this coin from Kbell as having the Roman mint-mark **XXIE**. It would appear to have been struck with the die of an antoninianus.

Maximian. **CONCORDIAE AVGG NN.** 47. **CONCORDIAE MILITVM.** 60-1 and a var. in B.M. **COS II.** 86. **COS III.** 88. **P M TR P P P.** 467. **VIRTVTI HERCVLIS** or **ERCVLIS.** 663.

ANTIOCH.

Diocletian. **CONCORDIAE AVGG NN.** 37-8. **CONSVL IIII P P PROCOS.** 46-7. **CONSVL V** &c., 49. **COS IIII.** 55. **FATIS VICTRICIBVS.** 56. **IOVI VLTORI** with dated obverse, **COS IIII.** 309. **P M TR P P P.** Caruso, Lot 511. **VICTORIA AVG.** 469.

Maximian. **CONCORDIAE AVGG NN.** 47.²⁵ Caruso, Lot 515-6. **CONSVL P P PROCONSVL.** 77. **CONSVL III P P PROCOS** (standing or seated), 78-9. **CONSVL IIII** &c., 80. **COS II.** 86, 87. **COS III.** 88. **P M TR P P P.** 467. **FATIS VICTRICIBVS.** 90. Caruso, Lot 522. **HERCVLI VICTORI.** B.M.

There are a few other aurei which I suspect to be pre-reform, but have been unable to verify. They are mostly quoted by Cohen from collections now dispersed. Aurei struck by Carausius in Britain are not dealt with here.

One other mint must be referred to before I close these notes. Signor Laffranchi²⁶ attributes two aurei of Diocletian to the mint of Alexandria, and he does so following a like attribution of an aureus of Carus and one of Carinus to the same mint, for which he gives some cogent reasons. The coins of Diocletian bear legends **IOVI CONSERVATORI ORBIS** and **VIRTVTI AVGG.** The former legend was used at Cyzicus, and the coin is of a rough style which is found under Carus and Carinus, and bears a certain resemblance to the work of that mint. It led me

²⁵ Cohen erroneously reads **CONCORDIA.**

²⁶ *Rivista Italiana*, 1907, pp. 39 ff.

to the view that the coins were a semi-barbarous issue in connexion therewith. The bust may well be an imitation of those used there, but it must be admitted that something very like it appears on some of the Alexandrian potin coins of our period. I find however great difficulty in accepting it as a genuine Alexandrian piece; firstly because the issue of a very few Latin aurei from that mint, at a time when it was otherwise striking in the Greek series and not using gold, is at least extraordinary, and secondly because the coin as figured has some of the characteristics of a forgery. In particular the lettering shows a series of pits where the relief is high. I have not found this peculiarity on any of the potin coins, nor have I seen on them similar very irregular lettering. I have not, however, seen the actual coin, and must therefore write of it with all reserve.

The **VIRTVTI AVGG** coin is equally interesting, for the obverse is, almost beyond question, the work of an Antioch moneyer, while the inscription on the reverse is irregular and very different in style from that on the obverse. The mint-mark **ALE** is crooked and flat, while the rest of the lettering on that side is in unusually high relief. I have not felt satisfied, therefore, with either of these coins.

If genuine, the latter gives further evidence of the interchange of styles and moneyers between the different mints, a matter which, as we have seen above, goes to the root of much of our modern attempt at scientific classification.

In closing I will mention another instance to which my attention has recently been drawn. The **FATIS VICTRICIBVS** coins of Antioch and Cyzicus have

been mentioned above. In addition to the difference in the mint-marks and style there is a variation in the reverse types. The positions and treatment of the three figures differ, and at Cyzicus they bear cornuacopiae, which are wanting at Antioch. The coin in the Paris cabinet which Cohen illustrates as No. 56 is of the latter mint, although an unfortunate piercing has destroyed the letter **A** in the mint-mark, but inspection of the coin shows that the bust is in the style of Cyzicus, not of Antioch. Here again one may suppose that there was an interchange of moneyers.

I have to express my thanks to Dr. Hill, Dr. Milne, M. Babelon, Dr. Regling, and Dr. Pink, for kindly supplying me with casts of a large number of the coins in the collections under their respective care, to Professor Alföldi for some of that assistance which he so freely gives to any student of the period in which he is a master, and to Mr. Mattingly for his constant advice and help. I do not pledge any of these gentlemen to the correctness of my opinions.

The coins figured on Pl. IX are aurei, as are also Nos. 3-8 on Pl. X. Nos. 1, 2, 9, 10, and 11, on Pl. X, are antoniniani. No. 12 is a bronze post-reform piece.

P. H. W.

IX.

THE NUMBERING OF THE VICTORIES OF THE EMPEROR GALLIENUS AND OF THE LOYALTY OF HIS LEGIONS.

[SEE PLATES XI-XX=I-X.]

MORE than one scholar has expressed an opinion on this problem. The great historian of imperial Rome, A. von Domaszewski,¹ for example, thinks that the title of honour, *sextum pia*, *sextum fidelis*, was given to the legions in the sixth year of Gallienus and that this reckoning was continued year by year; in this case, the title would be simply a reckoning of the years of the independent reign of Gallienus, beginning with the departure of Valerian for the East. This is, however, no more than an ingenious, but arbitrary hypothesis, which Harduin once suggested under a different form and Eckhel long since refuted:² a similar explanation has been proposed by Sir Charles Oman.³ E. Ritterling,⁴ that great authority on the history of the Roman army, whose untimely loss we deplore, saw that these solutions are not correct: but he too failed to advance much farther. And this was not surprising. To unearth a set of numismatic facts

¹ *Rhein. Mus.*, 57 (1902), p. 516; *Philol.*, 65 (1905), p. 364, n. 15.

² *Doctr. Numm.*, vii, p. 404.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1918, pp. 80 ff., esp. 90 ff.; Blanchet, *Musée Belge*, xxvii (1923), p. 171 must also be mentioned.

⁴ *P.W.R.E.* (=Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*), xii, col. 1342 f. Cp. also Wickert, *P.W.R.E.*, xiii, col. 354.

no external criticism, however acute, is enough; it must be preceded by a reconstruction of the coin evidence. This reconstruction, then, must be our first task. We are concerned with the following issues:

(A) MINT OF ROME.

From the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus two reverses of this mint concern us, the second of them certainly belonging only to Gallienus:⁵

1. **VICTORIAE AVG IT**(erum) **GERM**(anicae) Victory standing l., with captives at feet. **Pl. I. 1** Cohen² (Gallienus) 1198-9 = Voetter, *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1908, p. 85 and Pl. IV. 39 = Webb, *Rom. Imp. Coinage*, v. 1, p. 83, No. 178.

With the head of Valerian: Cohen² 243 = Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 48, No. 129; Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. VI. 4.

2. **GERMANICVS MAX**(imus) **TER**(tium) Trophy and two captives. [Pl. I. 3.]

Cohen² (Gallienus) 307 = Voetter, *op. cit.*, p. 85 and Pl. IV. 40 = Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 81, No. 141. With the head of Valerian: Pl. I. 2 (Vienna; hybrid).

Voetter dates both coins to 257, Webb to 256-7. No. 1 is unquestionably the earlier; but, as a systematic comparison with exactly dated types has still to be made, we can only assert that both coins must have been struck not before 255 and not after 257.

The most important item at this mint for us is the "third victory" of Gallienus, which was celebrated here by a fine series of reverses planned as a whole. In order to determine the occasion and historical meaning of the "third victory" we must examine the whole issue anew. Voetter's standard classification⁶

⁵ Cp. L. Homo, *Rev. hist.*, 113 (1913), p. 14.

⁶ *Num. Zeitschr.*, xxxii, p. 130 sq. **IOVI STATORI** there

only dealt thoroughly with one part of it, namely the series with simple types, which was produced over a long period and in great masses. It includes the following antoniniani:

1. **VIRTVS AVG** Mars standing l., with globe and spear. $\frac{-|-}{-}$, $\frac{-|P}{-}$ [Pl. I. 6, 10, 11, &c.]
2. **VIRTVS AVG** As on No. 1, but Mars sets foot on helmet. $\frac{-|P}{-}$ [Pl. II. 4, 15, &c.]
3. **IOVI VLTORI** Jupiter Ultor striding r., looking back l., brandishing thunderbolt. $\frac{S|-}{-}$, $\frac{-|-}{-}$ [Pl. I. 9, 13, &c.]
4. **VICTORIA AVG III** Victory advancing l., with wreath and palm. $\frac{T|-}{-}$, $\frac{-|-}{-}$ [Pl. III. 2, &c.]
5. **VICTORIA AVG** As on No. 4, but Victory strides forward with the l. foot. $\frac{T|-}{-}$ [Pl. VI. 8.]
6. **VICTORIA AVG** As on No. 4, but r. foot in advance. $\frac{T|-}{-}$ [Pl. I. 17; III. 5.]
7. **GENIVS AVG** Genius, wearing crown of towers, standing front, head l., holding patera and cornucopiae; by him on r. a standard. $\frac{Q|-}{-}$, $\frac{-|Q}{-}$, $\frac{\Omega}{-}$ [Pl. III. 1; V. 11; VI. 16.]

is only a printer's error for **VLTORI**. I have purposely avoided bringing in the issues of Salonina here.

8. **PAX AVG** Pax standing l. with branch and transverse sceptre. $\frac{V}{-}|-, \frac{-}{-}|-$

[Pl. I. 15 ; II. 9, &c.]

9. **GENIVS AVG** As on No. 7. $\frac{VI}{-}|-$

[Pl. I. 16 ; II. 17, &c.]

At the same time, however, a special commemorative issue of antoniniani was struck, the complicated designs of which presented too severe a task to the average die-sinker and which therefore were only a short time in use. Our great authority, Voetter, knew nothing of some of these types, while others he attributed in error to other mints. These types were:

10. **ADVENTVS AVG** Gallienus riding l., r. hand raised, sceptre in l. hand. $\frac{P}{-}, \frac{-}{-}$ [Pl. I. 8 ; III. 7 and 8.] Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. XXIX. 19, placed it to Siscia ; this is wrong, as a comparison of our illustrations with the neighbouring pieces shows.

11. **VIRTVS FALERI** The weapons of Hercules. $\frac{-}{-}, \frac{S}{-}$ [Pl. II. 7, 12.] (Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. XXVIII. 19, 20, Siscia—in error.)

12. **VIC GALL AVG** Victory inscribing III on shield set on palm. $\frac{T}{-}|-, \frac{-}{-}|-$, [Pl. II. 13 ; III. 4.] (Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. X. 27, inaccurate drawing.)

13. **VICTORIA AVG** As on No. 12. $\frac{-}{-}|-$

[Pl. V. 2, 12.] (Not in Voetter.)

14. **VIC GALL AVG III** Victory advancing l., with wreath and palm. $\frac{T}{-}|-, \frac{-}{-}|-$ [Pl. II. 10, 11 ; IV. 13.] (Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. X. 23, 25.)

15. **VICT GAL AVG** Three Victories standing front, heads l., each with wreath and palm. —, $\overline{\text{V}}$ [Pl. III. 3; IV. 16; V. 3, 7; VI. 17.] (Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. IX. 57; X. 65.)
16. **VICT GAL AVG III** Three Victories, each with wreath and palm. — [Pl. V. 4.] (Not in Voetter.)
17. **VICTORIAE AVG** Two Victories, standing *vis-à-vis*, holding globe, on which stands a third Victory with wreath and palm. — [Pl. IV. 15.] (Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. X. 67.)
18. **VIRTVS AVG** Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy, setting foot on captive. $\frac{-|}{-}$ [Pl. VII. 2.] (Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. XXVIII. 28, places it to Siscia—in error.)
19. **VIRTVS AVG** Hercules standing r. with bow and lion-skin in r. hand and club in l. $\frac{-|}{-}$ [Pl. III. 13.] (Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. XXIX. 22, Siscia—in error.)
20. **P M TR P X COS IIII P P** Emperor with eagle-tipped sceptre in quadriga l. [Pl. III. 14, 15.] (Not in Voetter.)
21. **COS IIII** As on No. 20. [Pl. III. 10.] (Not in Voetter.)

Further, we know of two types—apart from the older, hybrid reverses—which, to judge from the material at present at our disposal, were only incorporated in the issue at a much later date:

22. **VIRTVS AVG** Mars standing l. with shield and spear. $\frac{-|\text{VI}}{-}$ [Pl. III. 17; VII. 4.] (Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. XI. 43.)

23. **VIRTUS AVG** Emperor on horseback killing wild animal (lion?). [Pl. IV. 5.] (Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. XXIX. 26, Siscia—in error.)










This series of antoniniani requires a treatment quite distinct from ordinary cataloguing, and that for other reasons beside its exceptional historical interest. Between specimens which in formal description appear identical may lie an interval of five or six years: the remarkably large pieces of the initial issues were gradually reduced in weight and diameter to the extreme possible limit in spite of the fact that several new series were interpolated among them. The only remedy here, then, lies in a perfect reproduction of all the more important specimens—which has unfortunately never yet been done, although even the connexion of the types on grounds of evidence of style is not to be proved in any other way.⁷ A stock-taking of our material is also required.⁸ Completeness was unfortunately beyond my reach, but we may hope that no essential reverse or variant of obverse of real importance has been omitted. The successive degeneration of obverses has only been worked out in full for the cuirassed bust r. (Pls. II. 4–IV. 7): in the case of the other classes of bust I have let the late degraded pieces, which cannot affect the chronology, sink somewhat into the background. The following specimens then are known:

⁷ Unless we can illustrate these third-century coins very fully the understanding of them must remain a privilege of the few, who are able to study the material in a few large cabinets. I am much indebted to the Editors for making it possible for the first time to document the subject thoroughly on the plates.








⁸ Voetter's constant neglect in this matter, though it in no way impairs his great merits, is a serious defect in his work: he never gives provenances.

1	ADVENTVS AVG Emperor riding L.	P	IMP GALLIENVS AVG	c \mathcal{E}	Coll. Cornaggia (ap- proximately similar to Pl. II. 14); Coll. Voetter, Pl. III. 8	Cf. Webb, <i>R.I.C.</i> , v. 1, p. 144, No. 158
2	" "	P | — —	" "	\mathcal{E}	Coll. Cornaggia	
3	" "	— P	GALLIENVS AVG	Ⓟ \mathcal{E}	Br. Mus. Pl. I. 8; Coll. Cornaggia	
4	" "	—	" "	c \mathcal{E}	Paris, Pl. III. 7	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , XXIX. 18-19 (wrongly to Siscia)
5	COS IIII PP	—	" "	" "	Zagreb, Pl. III. 10	Cf. Cohen ² , 146 (Webb, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 143, No. 150)
6	GENIVS AVG stand- ing L.; r. a standard	Q | — | — —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG	" "	Budapest (abr. similar to Pl. II. 10)	
7	" "	Q | — | — —	" "	Ⓟ \mathcal{E}	Coll. Voetter, Pl. V. 11	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 59- 60
8	" "	— | — | Q — | Q | — Q | — | —	GALLIENVS AVG	c \mathcal{E}	Berlin, Pl. III. 1 Zagreb "	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 61-2










9	"	"	—|σ|—	GALLIENV—S AVG	Δ \ \ \ Φ	Zagreb, Pl. VI. 16	
10	"	"	—|Q|—, —|—|Q	GALLIENV AVG	⊗	Zagreb; Coll. Voetter	Of. Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 63
			—|σ|—			"	
			— — —			"	
11	"	"	VI|—|—	IMP GALLIENV AVG	⊗	Munich, Pl. I. 14	
			V|I|—			Zagreb, Pl. I. 16.	
12	"	"	VI|—|—	"	Ψ	Coll. Voetter, Pl. V. 13	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , XI. 33
13	"	"	V|I|—	"	Δ \ \ \ Φ	Coll. Voetter, Pl. VII. 3	" XI. 31
14	"	"	V|I|—	"	⊗	Budapest, Pl. IV. 14; Coll. Trau; Zagreb	" XI. 32
15	"	"	V|I|—		⊗	Coll. Voetter, Pl. VII. 11	
16	"	"	V|I|—	GALLIENV AVG	c	Budapest, Pl. II. 8; Vienna, Pl. II. 17; Zagreb	" XI. 34
17	"	"	V|—|I, V|I|—	"	⊗	Zagreb	" XI. 35

18	GENIUS AVG stand- ing L; r. a standard	V | | —	GALLIENVS AVG		Coll. Cornaggia (obv. like Pl. VII. 2)	
19	IOVI VLTORI Jup- piter advancing L.	S | — —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG	c 	Munich, Pl. II. 6; Zagreb; Budapest	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , IX. 45
20	"	— | — —	"	" "	Coll. Hollschek (Vienna)	
21	"	S | — —	"		Zagreb; Coll. Holl- schek	
22	"	S | — —	"		Munich, Pl. I. 13; Budapest, Pl. II. 1	
23	"	S | — —	"		Coll. Voetter, Pl. VII. 10; Munich, Pl. VII. 6	" IX. 36
24	"	S | — —	"		Coll. Voetter, Pl. IV. 10	" IX. 35
25	"	— | — —	"		Coll. Voetter, Pl. IV. 11	
26	"	S | — —	GALLIENVS AVG	c 	Budapest, Pl. II. 16; Voetter, Pl. IV. 6; Berlin, Pl. IV. 1; Vienna, &c.	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , IX. 37-8
27	"	S | — —	"		Coll. Voetter, Pl. VI. 15	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , IX. 41

28	"	"	S|—	"	"	☉ ☿ ☿ ☿	(Provenance is not given)	"	"	IX. 40
29	"	"	S|—	"	"	☿	Zagreb, Pl. I. 9	"	"	
30	"	"	S|—	"	"	☿	Vienna; Zagreb, Budapest, Pl. VI. 7	"	"	IX. 42
31	"	"	S|—	"	"	☿	Coll. Voetter, Pl. VI. 3; Zagreb; Munich, Pl. V. 15	"	"	IX. 39
32	PAX AVG standing l.		V|—	IMP GALLIENVS AVG		c ☿	Munich, Pl. II. 9			
33	"	"	V|—	"	"	☿	Coll. Voetter, Pl. I. 15			
34	"	"	V|—	"	"	☿	Coll. Hollschek			
35	"	"	V|—	GALLIENVS AVG		c ☿	Budapest, Pl. III. 16; Coll. Voetter	"	"	XI. 11
36	"	"	V|—	GALLIEN—VS AVG		☿ c / ☿	Coll. Voetter, Pl. VI. 14, helmet with cheek-protectors			Cf. Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , XI. 12 (wrong)



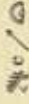




37	PAX AVG standing L.	V | — —	GALLIENVS AVG		Vienna ; Zagreb	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , XI. 15-16
38	" "	— | — —	" "		Coll. Voetter, Pl. VI. 5 ; Zagreb	
39	" "	V | — —	" "		Munich, Pl. VII. 4	
40	PM TR PX CCS IIII PP	V | — —	" "		Rome (Mus. Nazionale)	
41	" "	—	" "	" " "	Coll. Cornaggia ; obs. like Pl. VII. 2, but on the shield emperor riding l.	Cohen ² 837 (but not in the Vatican !); Webb, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 144, no. 154 (inac- curate)
42	" "	—	" "	c 	Vienna, Pl. III. 14; Br Mus., Pl. III. 15	Cohen ² 814
43	VIC GALL AVG Victory r. writing on shield : III	T | — —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG	c 	Paris (small piece) Coll. Voetter, Pl. II. 13 ; Budapest	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 27 (inaccurate)
44	" "	— | — —	GALLIENVS AVG	" "	Coll. Tran, Pl. III. 4	Cf. Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 28 (?)
45	VIC GALL AVG III Victory advancing l. ; l. foot forward	— | — —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG		Vienna, Pl. IV. 13	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 24-5









46	As No. 45, but r. foot forward	—|— —	"	"	c ⌘	Br. Mus., Pl. II. 11	Cf. Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 21 also (⌘/⌘)
47	" "	T|— —	GALLIENVS AVG	"	⌘ ⌘	Munich, Pl. II. 10; Vienna; Bologna (Municipal coll.)	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 22-3; cf. Cohen ² 1042
48	VICT GAL AVG Three Victories	T|— —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG	"	⌘	Paris, Pl. VII. 12	
49	" "	—|— —	GALLIENVS AVG	"	c ⌘	Berlin, Pl. IV. 16	
50	" "	—|— —	"	"	⌘	Paris, Pl. III. 3	Cohen ² 1034
51	" "	V —	"	"	⌘ ⌘	Vienna, Pl. V. 7; Coll. Voetter; Br. Mus.; Gotha	
52	" "	—|— —	GALLIEN—VS AVG	"	⌘ ⌘	Br. Mus., Pl. V. 3; Paris	Cf. Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , XI. 27-8
53	VICT GAL AVG III Three Victories	—|— —	GALLIENVS AVG	"	⌘ \ ⌘ ⌘	(Obv. as Pl. VI. 3)	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , IX. 56-7
						Coll. Trau, Pl. VI. 17	Cf. Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 64-5
					⌘	Paris, Pl. V. 4	Cohen ² 1035 (Wehh, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 156, no. 295)

54	VICTORIA AVG writing on shield III	—|— —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG		Br. Mus., Pl. V. 12	Cohen ² , 1087 (Voetter, <i>op. cit.</i> , XVII. 60, wrongly to Milan)
55	" "	—|— —	GALLIENVS AVG		Coll. Trau, Pl. V. 2	Cf. Cohen ² 1088.
56	VICTORIA AVG I.; r. foot forward	T|— —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG	c 	Coll. Voetter, Pl. III. 5; Coll. Trau; Zag- reb	
57	" "	T|— —	" "		Zagreb, Pl. I. 17	
58	" "	T|— —	" "	c 	Budapest, Pl. VII. 8	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , IX. 63
59	As No. 56, but l. foot forward	T|— —	GALLIENVS AVG	c 	Vienna; Zagreb	" " IX. 64
60	" "	T|— —	" "		Budapest, Pl. VI. 8	" " IX. 65
61	VICTORIA AVG III. Victory advancing l.; l. foot forward	T|— —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG	c 	Verona	Milani, <i>Il ripostiglio della Fenestra</i> (1880), p. 27, no. 371
62	" "	—|— —	" "	c 	Coll. Voetter, Pl. VII. 9	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 32

63	"	"	T | — —	"	"	☿	"	"	Pl. IV. 12	"	"	X. 30
64	"	"	T | — —	"	"	☿	"	"	Coll. Voetter, Pl. III. 6; Berlin, Pl. IV. 2; Vienna, Pl. III. 11; Zagreb; Budapest, Pl. IV. 7	"	"	X. 34
65	"	"	T | — —	"	"	☿	"	"	Zagreb	"	"	
66	"	"	T | — —	"	"	☿	"	"	Hoard of Venedra	"	"	Milani, <i>op. cit.</i> , no. 347
67	"	"	T | — —	"	"	☿	"	"	Vienna, Pl. VII. 1; Zagreb	"	"	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 33
68	"	"	T | — —	"	"	☿	"	"	Formerly in the Elberling Coll.	"	"	Cohen ² 1121
69	"	"	T | — —	"	"	☿	"	"	Vienna, Pl. VI. 1; Zagreb	"	"	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , X. 35
70	"	"	T | — —	"	"	☿	"	"	Coll. Voetter; Budapest, Pl. VI. 8; Zagreb	"	"	X. 36

70	VICTORIA AVG III. Victory advancing l.; l. foot forward	$\frac{T}{-}$	GALLIENVS AVG		Munich, Pl. V. 16	
71	VICTORIAE AVG Two Victories hold- ing a third on a globe	$\frac{-}{-}$	IMP GALLIENVS AVG		Vienna, Pl. IV. 15	Voetter, Atlas, X. 66-7
72	VIRTVS AVG Mars standing l. with globe and spear	$\frac{-P}{-}$	"		Coll. Voetter, Pl. II. 5; Coll. Trau.	" IX. 9
73	" "	$\frac{-P}{-}$	"		" Pl. I. 12	" IX. 10
74	" "	$\frac{-P}{-}$	"		Zagreb	
75	" "	$\frac{P}{-} \frac{-P}{-}$	GALLIENVS AVG		Coll. Voetter, Pl. I. 7; Munich, Pl. I. 6; Zagreb	Cl. Voetter, Atlas, X. 54 ($\frac{-Q}{-}$)
76	" "	$\frac{-}{-}$	"		Coll. Voetter	
77	" "	$\frac{-P}{-}$	"		Coll. Voetter, Pl. VI. 4; Munich, Pl. V. 14	Voetter, Atlas, IX. 14
	" "	$\frac{-P}{-}$	"		Zagreb, Pl. I. 10; Budapest, Pl. I. 11; Munich, Pl. I. 6	" IX. 13

78	"	"	$\frac{P}{-} \frac{-}{-} \frac{-}{-} \frac{P}{-}$	"	"		Vienna, Pl. IV. 18; Zagreb	"	"	IX. 15
79	As No. 72, but Mars standing on helmet		$\frac{-}{-} \frac{P}{-}$	IMP GALLIENVS AVG	"		Coll. Voetter, Pl. II. 4; Budapest, Pl. II. 15; Zagreb	"	"	IX. 1
80	"		$\frac{-}{-} \frac{P}{-}$	"	"		Coll. Voetter, Pl. VII. 7	"	"	IX. 3
81	"		$\frac{-}{-} \frac{P}{-}$	"	"		Munich, Pl. IV. 9; Vienna, Pl. IV. 17; Zagreb	"	"	IX. 2
82	"		$\frac{-}{-} \frac{P}{-}$	GALLIENVS AVG	"	"	Zagreb	"	"	
83	VIRTVS AVG Mars with spear and trophy treads on prisoner		$\frac{-}{-} \frac{-}{-}$	"	"		Coll. Voetter, Pl. VII. 2	Voetter, Atlas, XXVIII (wrongly to Siscia)		
84	VIRTVS AVG Her- cules r.		$\frac{-}{-} \frac{-}{-}$	"	"		Coll. Voetter, Pl. III. 13	Voetter, Atlas, XXIX. 22 (wrongly to Siscia)		
85	VIRTVS FALERI The weapons of Hercules		$\frac{-}{-}$	"	"	Head with lion-akin and 	Br. Mus., Pl. II. 12; Coll. Voetter	Voetter, Atlas, XXVIII. 19-20 (wrongly to Siscia)		

86	VIRTUS FALERI The weapons of Hercules	\overline{S}	GALLIENVS AVG	c 	Paris, Pl. II. 7	Cohen ² 1325 (Webb, op. cit., p. 183, No. 590, wrongly to Siscia)
87	VIRTVS AVG Mars standing l. with shield and spear	$\overline{-|VI|}$	" "		Vienna, Pl. VII. 4; Munich	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , XI. 41
88	" "	$\overline{-|VI|}$	" "		Vienna; Zagreb	" " XI. 42
89	" "	$\overline{-|VI|}$	" "	c 	Budapest, Pl. III. 17; Coll. Trau; Zagreb	" " XI. 39
90	" "	$\overline{-|VI|}$	" "		Coll. Trau	" " XI. 40
91	" "	$\overline{-|VI|}$	GALLIEN—VS AVG	 c / 	Coll. Cornaggia	
92	VIRTVS AVG Em- peror on horseback slaying a lion (?)	—		c 	Coll. Voetter, Pl. IV. 5	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , XXIX. 26 (wrongly to Siscia)

Earlier reverses with obverses of this issue:

93	IOVI CONSERVAT Standing l.	Q | — —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG	c ⌘	Coll. Ivanac (Zagreb)
94	" "	Q | — —	GALLIENVS AVG	c ⌘	Zagreb
95	LAETITIA AVGG	— | — —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG	⌘ ⌘	" Pl. VI. 2
96	PAX AVGG standing l.	V | — —	" "	c ⌘	Coll. Voetter, Pl. II. 14; Budapest, Pl. III. 9
97	" "	V | — —	" "	⌘ ⌘	Coll. Voetter, Pl. I. 15
98	" "	V | — —	GALLIENVS AVG	" "	Zagreb
99	" "	V | — —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG	⌘ ⌘	(Provenance not known)
100	" "	— | V —	" "	⌘	Zagreb, Pl. V. 9
101	PROVIDENTIA AVGG standing l.	— | — —	GALLIENVS AVG	c ⌘	Zagreb
102	VICTORIA AVGG standing l. with a prisoner	— | — —	" "	" "	Budapest

Voetter, *Atlas*, XL. 1

" " XL. 2

" " XL. 3

7	VICTORIA AVG III advancing l.	—|— —	"	"		Paris, Pl. IV. 3	" 173
8	"	—|— —	"	"		Naples (obv. as Pl. V. 1)	" 174
9	"	T|— —	"	"	"	Coll. Guicchi, Pl. V. 1	" 176
10	"	—|— —	"	"	c	Paris, Pl. III. 2	" 175
11	"	T|— —	"	"	" "		" 177
12	PAX AVG stands l.	V|— —	"	"		Madrid, Pl. V. 5	Not in Men.
13	"	V|— —	"	"	c	Paris, Pl. IV. 8	Men. 118 (cp. also 119)
14	GENIUS AVG stand- ing l.; on r. stan- dard.	—|— —	"	"	" "	Naples (small piece)	" 63
15	P M TR P X COS IIII PP. Quadriga l.	— —	"	"	 OR: 		" 130 (Tanini)

In the gold, too, the same decline in diameter and weight may be noted as in the billon; **Plate V. 5**, for example, dates from the beginning of the issue, **Plate IV. 8** represents a mere survival of it.

(γ) *Aes.*

The coinage in *Aes* in this issue is adequately characterized by the collection on Plates VIII–XI of Voetter's *Atlas*, its style by the specimens in the Voetter collection, which we illustrate here on **Pls. VI. 12–13, VII. 13–14**. Apart from the reverses which he records, **VIRTVS AVG** (Mars standing r. with globe and spear), **IOVI VLTORI** [**Pl. VII. 14**], **VICTORIA AVG III** [**Pl. VI. 12–13, VII. 13**], **GENIVS AVG**, **PAX AVG**, two more are to be added here, both sestertii:

1. **ADVENTVS AVG** Emperor riding l. Gneecchi, *Medaglioni Romani*, Pl. 154. 13.
2. **VICTORIA AVG S|C** "Victory standing inscribing III on shield set on palm". Cohen² 1089.¹⁰

(δ) *Quinarii.*

The gold quinarius of the Gneecchi Collection [**Pl. VI. 9**] and the numerous billon quinarii with **VICTORIA AVG** [**Pl. VI. 11, Vienna**]¹¹ are to be placed here.

(ε) *Medallions.*

There can be no doubt that originally various types of our issue were struck on pieces of large size: the two following alone have survived:

1. **VICT GAL AVG III** Victory in biga galloping l. Gneecchi, *Medagl.*, ii, p. 109, No. 32 and Pl. 114. 10 (Paris).

¹⁰ The semisses (see **Plate VI. 10**) belong to a later issue.

¹¹ Voetter, *Atlas*, Plate IX. 60–61.

2. **P M TR P X P P COS V** Quadriga l. Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 109, No. 31 and Pl. 114. 9 (Weber Sale and Paris).

To understand these types we must bear in mind that at this time and in this mint¹² the central government very seldom issued special instructions as to the types to be struck,—only in fact when political reasons absolutely demanded such immediate interference, or at least made it appear desirable. Among these few series of types, which were ordered from head-quarters—and, in fact, most important among them—is our issue: it is in itself a piece of history. Voetter saw already that it is the first series which fails to include the reverses of the older Emperor. Our types were designed to hush up the shameful death of Valerian, they were to deafen the ears of the world with tidings of the “third victory”, drive men’s thoughts away from the catastrophe of the empire, re-establish their confidence in present and future—hence in particular the stress repeatedly laid on *Virtus Augusti*. Nay more, *Iupitor ultor* is already threatening the breakers of the peace, the enemies of the Emperor: the hour of revenge draws nigh, one rebel in fact is already gone to his doom.¹³ In its fearful

¹² At Milan the case is not quite the same, as there was better order kept there. Only when one realizes the incredible maladministration of the mint of Rome under Gallienus, can one understand why Aurelian could only restore order by annihilating the robber-hordes of the “monetarii”; the senate had the finance minister of Gallienus executed immediately after Gallienus’ death (Victor, *Caesares*, 33. 31).

¹³ See below.

straits¹⁴ the government did actually employ that very method of quieting the masses, for which the hostile school of historians of the senatorial party censures it: *at Romae Gallienus pacata omnia ignaris publici mali improbe suadebat, crebro etiam, uti rebus ex voluntate gestis solet, ludos ac festa triumphorum, quo promptius simulata confirmarentur, exercens* (Vict. Caes., 33. 15).

To determine the "third Victory"¹⁵ more precisely we have the following indications:

(1) the capture of Valerian cannot have been known in Rome before October 260¹⁶: that is our *terminus post quem*.

(2) We shall prove below that the coin with **DIVO CAES Q GALLIENO** [Pl. V. 8] refers to the death of the second son of Gallienus, which must be placed in the last month of the same year. This coin, as the obverses shown near it on the plates prove, was struck at the beginning of the issue: *it must therefore have been in the last months of A.D. 260 that the third Victory was inscribed on the coins*.


There is apparent conflict with this date which we must proceed to interpret correctly. In the first place we have two coins of Saloninus from this mint with


¹⁴ Cp. my paper in the volume entitled *Fünf-und-zwanzig Jahre Römisch-Germanische Kommission*, Frankfurt a. M., 1929.


¹⁵ Voetter, *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1908, p. 92, would regard it as a reference to the war against Postumus: this view is entirely without foundation.

¹⁶ It was not known in Alexandria on August 29th, for the reverses of Valerian continue to be struck there into the year 8 (L H); whereas on Sept. 29, 260, they are already dating in Egypt in the name of Macrianus and Quietus (cp. P. Oxy. 1476, and Wickert, *P.W.R.E.*, xiii, p. 493).

the reverses of these series, which speak of one Augustus (AVG), that is to say were made later than autumn 260; they are, however, quite small, degraded pieces, which must be years later than the beginning of our issue. They are the following:

1. (a) PL. II. 2, FELICIT AVG  Felicitas standing r. with globe and long sceptre. Unpublished: National Museum, Zagreb.

- (b) PL. II. 3, PAX AVG  Pax standing l. with branch and transverse sceptre. In Paris; Cohen² 39 describes the same coin in error with AVGG.

Obverse of (a) and (b): LIC COR SAL VALE-
RIANVS N CAES .

The solution of the riddle is easy. Among the antoniniani, we have already found many examples of a repetition of reverses of Valerian (Nos. 93-102), out of their true order chronologically, issued between A. D. 260 and 268¹⁷; in the obverses of Saloninus we see a similar use of out-of-date dies.¹⁸

A second but less serious difference seems to be caused by the dated reverses. Gallienus was COS IIII P P in A. D. 261, but P M TR P X COS IIII P P only

¹⁷ Cp. here my article in *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, xxxix (1929).

¹⁸ It is probably a case of abuse of their trust by mint employees, similar to that which prevailed in Trèves in the time of Constantine (cp. Maurice, *Num. Const.*, i, p. 424), and which arose out of the impossibility of producing the vast masses of inflated currency in the regular *officinae*: this led to the lending of raw material and dies to the "monetarii" for piece-work outside the mint: no strict control was, of course, to be thought of under these circumstances, and abuses of every kind might thus arise (cp. also note 12).








fits the short interval from December 10 to 31, 261; it can hardly be a case of a mistake, for the unique medallion with **P M TR P X P P COS V** exactly registers for the same type the change of reckoning, which came in with the New Year, 262. It is to be noted that the obverses of our antoniniani [**PL III. 10, 14, 15**], show only the reduced, i.e. the later dies of the issue; the extreme rarity of these types makes it certain that very few obverses can have been paired with them, and probable that the earliest reverses, which we have not got, have not just been lost, but never were combined with them at all. In other words: the reverses with dates 261, December 10 to 31, 261 and 262 were only inserted subsequently, —which must not surprise us; but the interval between the beginning of the whole series and the appearance of **COS IIII** is only a very small one, as we shall see below.

(B) THE MINT OF MILAN.

Scarcely had this mint started working when the news of the end of Valerian arrived. The same imperial order, which on this occasion dictated the coinage we have described above for Rome, reached Milan too. The moment when it arrived can be determined from the following considerations. The initial series of the mint,¹⁹ which is still struck in the name of the two Augusti, has for Gallienus the *obv.* legend **IMP GALLIENVS AVG**, which afterwards is not used

¹⁹ Cp. my notes in *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, xxxvii (1927), pp. 200 ff.; xxxviii (1928), p. 200 ff.

for any years by this mint. When Valerian after a little disappears, this legend continues a short while in use, as its appearance on **Pl. VII. 15** and **17** (Voetter Collection) proves, where on the reverse only one Augustus (**AVG**) is mentioned. It is into this very brief space, then, that the first appearance at Milan of the "third Victory" must fall (cp. **Pl. VII. 15**), that is to say, *immediately after the news of the end of the elder Emperor*. And as this legend is here accompanied by the same types as at Rome (cp. **Pl. VII. 15**; **VIII. 1, 2, 7, 12**, and **IX. 2**), there, too, must the news of this victory have been announced in the course of October, or, at latest, November, 260,—a result which strikingly confirms our results already obtained for the issues of Rome. The types of the "third Victory" were regularly struck at Milan on patterns for the gold with the dies of the antoniniani: I know of the following (in both metals):

1	Ant.	VICT GAL AVG III Three Victories, each with wreath and palm	—|— —	IMP GALLIENVS AVG			Voetter Coll., Pl. VII 15	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , XVI. 35, 36
2	Ant.	" "	—|— —	GALLIENVS AVG	"	"	Paris, Pl. VIII. 2.	Cohen ³ 1036 (not in Voetter)
3	A	" (same die as 2)	—|— —	CONCORDIA AVGG			Vienna, Pl. VIII. 1	Men. 3, p. 126 (not in Voetter)
4	Ant.	" "	—|— —	GALLIENVS AVG	c 	"	Gnecchi Coll., Pl. VIII. 7	(Not in Voetter)
5	Ant.	VICT GAL AVG III Victory stands front, head l., with wreath and palm	—|— —	" "	"	"	Ivanac Coll., Pl. VIII. 9	Unpublished
6	A	VICT GAL AVG III Victory advancing r., with wreath and palm	—|— —	" "		"	Paris, Pl. IX. 2	Men. 157 (not in Voetter)
7	Ant.	" "	—|— —	" "	c 	"	Bologna, Municipal Coll., Pl. VIII. 12	Unpublished

Further, the accompanying types, which we met in Rome, are for the most part to be found again here; as it was only a question of generalities here, the instructions were not so precise. I need only refer to these types summarily:

1. **ADVENTVS AVG**²⁰ Emperor riding l. [Pl. IX. 4] (Gnecchi Coll.); Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. XVII. 38.
2. **VICT(oria) AET(erna) AVG(usti)** [Pl. VIII. 10] (Hollschek Coll.); Voetter, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII. 55 (wrongly read).
3. **VIRTVS AVGVSTI** Hercules r. [Pl. IX. 15] (Vienna); Voetter, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII. 61.
4. **VIRTVS AVG** Mars l. [Pl. VIII. 13] (Copenhagen); Voetter, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII. 62, 63.
5. **PAX AVGVSTI** [Pl. IX. 6-7] (Vienna); Voetter, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII. 51.

Instead of *Iovi Ultori* we find here:

6. **IOVI CONSERVA**, standing l. Voetter, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII. 43-4.

Here, too, the new imperial dating comes in after the New Year 261 on the reverses:

7. **P M TR P VIII COS IIII P P** Emperor sacrificing l. [Pl. VIII. 11] (Paris); Voetter, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIX. 76.²¹

But, whereas in Rome this issue, prescribed by the central government, has entirely displaced the preceding reverses,²² in Milan it is simply intruded into another great issue. The intention had been to


²⁰ As this reverse also occurs for Saloninus, it is again clear that the beginning of the issue falls in the time between the death of Valerian and that of Saloninus.

²¹ Added in supplement, in the wrong place.

²² They only continued to be used irregularly, see above.

celebrate the opening of the mint,—just as eight years later at Cyzicus²³—with a magnificent issue, with a rich series of types, including the arms of the Rhine and Danube legions.²⁴ Valerian's reverses had had to be withdrawn just before the issue of this series, yet it was possible without difficulty to bring these legionary coins with the portrait of Gallienus into circulation. I have shown by a number of examples on the plates, that the reverses, on which the troops are named *sextum piae sextum fideles* (VI P VI F), have obverses identical with those of the coins of the "third Victory": cp. here PL. VII. 16 or VIII. 3 with VIII. 2; and PL. VIII. 6 with 7, 8 with 9, PL. IX. 2 with 3. But how can one maintain that Gallienus is three times victorious, when his legions at the same time claimed to have already proved their loyalty six times? The apparent contradiction is explained by the fact that the new instructions from head-quarters prescribed a different method of numbering the victories from that which had been established for the original local issue. But both reckonings referred to the same series of facts, and very soon attempts are being made to clear

²³ The first series of Cyzicus is that listed—but not recognized as such—by Voetter, *Num. Zeitschr.* xxxiii, p. 107 f. ("third period"). It is instructive to observe here how long in advance such masses of dies had to be prepared: in late summer 268 reverses with P M TR P XVII, i.e. A. D. 269, were already being prepared,—a tribunician year which Gallienus never actually reached (cp. also Voetter, *op. cit.*, p. 109).

²⁴ The gold quinarius, which I have published in *Numizmatikai Közlemény*, xxv (1926), p. 78 (COHH PRAET VI P VI F, Lion r.: IMP GALLIENVS AVG ) makes it probable that the whole series was also struck in gold quinarii: eight specimens of it, *fleur de coin*, came to light in a single find in a grave at Laibach (Ljubljana).

up the discrepancy; a comparison of **PL. IX. 2-4** with **8-11** proves that the "loyalty number" was raised to seven while the same obverses as those of the types first mentioned were still in use, while in place of *Victoria III* we find **VICTORIA AVG VII**. From these facts follows:

(1) The absolute parallelism between number of Victory and number of loyalty (cp. **PL. IX. 8, 9, 11** with **10**, further **13** with **14**) proves finally that both rest on the same reckoning of wars.


(2) There is no question that the Victory number VII replaces III, and must therefore refer to the same event.

(3) As the legions of Germany, which, as we shall show later, rebelled in December 260, still share in the loyalty number VII, this number was being inscribed on the coins before December 260. We see, therefore, now that *Victoria III* = *Victoria VII* records the suppression of Regalian in late autumn 260.



















Soon comes another change. The revolt of the Rhine army made the series with the praise of the fidelity of the troops meaningless; its issue had simply to be suspended, and for the future the types speak not of single corps but of the "army"; further, the victory number and loyalty number soon increase once more from seven to eight. Voetter²⁵ has already recognized that this change took place before the end of this same issue,—and the fact is proved at once by the identical reverses for VII and VIII; cp. **PL. IX. 11** and **12, 13** and **14** and **16**; **X. 2**. That **VICTORIA AVG VIII** and **FIDES EXERC VIII** appear, however,

²⁵ *Num. Zeitschr.*, xxxii, p. 143 f.

later than the types with VII, is revealed by the fact that a practice, which characterizes the second half of the issue—viz. the addition of "officina" marks **P** and **S** to the die—only comes into use in the course of striking of the "eighth Victory". The fifth consulship on **PI. VIII. 13** proves that the series extends over into the year 262, as from another side the reverse **VOTA DECENNALIA** [**PI. IX. 5** and **X. 3, 5**]²⁶ testifies, that it cannot be later than this year. But now we are in a position to divine, even without the aid of these evidences, that *Victoria Aug(usti) VIII* can only mean the triumph over Macrianus in the summer of 261. Of these new victory-reverses I have noted :²⁷

²⁶ A type had been struck for the *Decennalia* which Voetter did not know, namely, **VOTIS DECENNALIBVS** in wreath [**PI. X. 5**]. The Count Cornaggia Coll., the Milan Cabinet, and the British Museum also have a specimen with c²⁶, and M. Mattia Ivanac in Zagreb has the piece reproduced here with .

²⁷ The reverses registered above are listed in Voetter, *op. cit.*, p. 144. We have further: **FIDES EXERCITI** (Fides as on **PI. VIII. 15**), **LAETIT FVNDAT**, standing l., **MARTI PACIFER** and **MARTI PACIFERO** from the Komin Find in the National Museum, Zagreb. For the style of this series, cp. **PI. IX** and **VIII. 13-15**.

Obverse.	VICTORIA AVG VII Victory advancing l.		VICTORIA AVG VIII Victory advancing l.		FIDES EXERC VIII Fides standing front, head r., holding vorkal and transverse standard.
		Vienna, Pl. IX. 10		Rome (Mus. Nazionale) Zagreb; Ivanac Coll. and Voetter Coll. Voetter Coll. " Zagreb; Munich, Pl. VIII. 14; Vienna Budapest "	
					
		Bologna (Municipal Coll.), Pl. IX. 1			
		Zagreb			
		Hollschek Coll.; Vienna, Pl. IX. 13; Rome (Mus. Naz.)			

GALLIENVS AVG

Further details are not available from this mint.

(C) MINT OF LUGDUNUM.

This mint struck from 257–258 to the end of 260 for Valerian and Gallienus. In a late issue²⁸ of the mint appears a type which interests us:

GERMANICVS MAX(*imus*) **V**(*quintum*) Trophy and two captives. [Pl. I. 4.] Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. XXI. 18 26, 38].

At the same time appears on the obverses the title **GALLIENVS AVG GERM V** (Voetter, *op. cit.*, 45). The reverse just quoted passes over as hybrid die into the initial coinage of Postumus (Cohen 84–87): this fact has hitherto been misunderstood and independent Victory numbers of Postumus have been wrongly seen in it.²⁹ This transition to Postumus is further valuable, because it reveals to us the fact that up to the end of 260 Gallienus counted five German victories.

(D) MISREAD VICTORY NUMBERS.

1. **VICT CER II** Cohen² 1044 (Æ 11), quoting Wiczay. Probably to be read **GERM**.
2. **VICTORIA AVG II** Cohen² 1114: in error, for the aureus in Br. M., which he describes, once had **III**, only the last **I** has been destroyed by piercing. Voetter, *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1908, p. 92, takes over the mistake; similarly in Cohen² 1115 (Asselin Coll.) and in the two variants in the description of the Niederrentgen find **II** must be an error for **III**—a fact which is further proved in the latter case by the mint-mark **T**—.

²⁸ Voetter, *Num. Zeitschr.*, xxxiii, p. 74 ff.

²⁹ Dessau, *Eph. Ep. VII* (1892), p. 434, following Eckhel, *D. N.*, vii, p. 439, and A. Stein, *P.W.R.E.*, iii, col. 1660; cp. Cohen² Nos. 84–87, note.

3. **VICTORIA AVG VI S|C** Cohen² 1127, quoting Wiczay: it is a sestertius of Rome, where **VI** is impossible.
4. **VICTORIA AVG VII** with $\frac{T|-}{-}$, aureus quoted by Menadier, 179, in error: the Vienna specimen which he quotes has no mint-mark, as **Pl. IX. 13** shows, whilst Cohen² 602 (Schellersheim) with $\frac{T|-}{-}$ could only be a **VICTORIA AVG III** of Rome.
5. **VICTORIA AVG VIII** copied by Cohen² 1136 from Banduri, who must have misread a **VII** or **VIII**.
6. **GERMANICVS MAX VI** Köhnen wished to read this on an antoninianus in the Berlin Cabinet—in error, as Wickert, *P.W.R.E.*, xiii, col. 354, has already observed.
7. **VICTORIA AVG VII C**, Bernhart, *Handbuch*, p. 247, is an antoninianus of Antioch which had **VII C(onsul)** in exergue.²⁰

Let us now consider the historical background of these numismatic facts. Perhaps it has already been noticed that all these numberings go back to two reckonings: in the former they record the successful military operations of Gallienus from his accession in 253, in the latter they count only the successes of his sole reign. We will begin with the former series.

The first five Victories are, as is proved by the second and third (A.D. 255-7) on coins of Rome, by

²⁰ These legends, then, must be all deleted from Bernhart's list at the place quoted and also in Webb, *R.I.C.*, v. 1, where our (1) = p. 169, No. 435; (2) = p. 137, No. 83; (3) = p. 165, No. 399; (4) = p. 137, No. 86; (5) = p. 177, No. 528. Cp. also Sir C. Oman, *Num. Chron.*, 1918, pp. 88 f., on imperfect inscriptions and wrong descriptions of legionary coins: also, earlier, J. v. Kolb, *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1873, pp. 53 ff. and Voetter, *Atlas*, Plate XVI.

the fifth (257/8-260) on coins of Lugdunum, German victories.³¹ With the third we can now associate the epithet *III pia III fidelis* of the *legio V Macedonica*, which is found on an inscription of Dacia set up between 256 and 258.³²

The fifth victory can, I believe, be even more closely determined: it must have been the victory over the Alamanni near Milan.³³ Zonaras (xii. 24 beg.) expressly records that Gallienus won this victory after the departure of his father for the Persian campaign (A.D. 257 ?), and according to Zosimus (i. 37. 2) he was still fighting with the German tribes beyond the Alps, when the Alamanni overran Italy. That the ἐπέκεινα τῶν Ἀλπεων, from which according to Zosimus i. 38 he had come, means not the Danube lands but Gaul is revealed by an interesting numismatic document. It is a billon coin³⁴ struck in Lugdunum—between 257/8-260 then—with *rev.* **ROMA REDVX**, Roma leading the horse of the Emperor who extends his hand in protection. It is a picture familiar in the literature of the panegyrists: the personification of the eternal city in her peril flies of her own accord to her lord, craving his help. Two examples of the period will illustrate the point. *Roma ipsa . . . supplices tibi manus tendens . . . clamavit*—says the one

³¹ For the German wars of Gallienus, see Wickert, *P.W.R.E.*, xiii, col. 354 ff.

³² Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 4345. The dating follows from the mention of Valerianus Caesar.

³³ As Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit.*, p. 815, n. 1, has already suggested.

³⁴ Cp. Gnechchi, *Riv. Ital. di num.*, i (1888), Plate IV. 9 (Gnechchi Coll.).

panegyrist³⁵—*quo usque hoc, Maximiane, patiar me quati, te quiescere; iam ad te supplices manus Roma tendebat*—says the other to his Emperor.³⁶

Even so did *dea Roma* summon back Gallienus from Gaul, to drive out the ravaging Alamanni. That this event won him the title *Germanicus Maximus quintum* seems to me to be confirmed by the exceptional—one might even say retrospective—bestowal of the loyalty-number *V pia V fidelis* on several corps on the Milan legionary coins. Next, then, we must review these issues in the geographical arrangement of the corps,³⁷ with their loyalty number.

The corps, which, by way of exception, are called *quintum pia, quintum fidelis*, are just those which one would *a priori* assume as participators in the battle against the Alamanni: the *VIII Augusta* may have been brought by Gallienus with him from the Rhine, drawing in the Pannonian *I. Adiutrix* and the Norican *II. Italica* from provinces adjoining Italy; the participation of the *cohortes praetoriae* and *II. Parthica* (stationed on the Alban Mount by Rome) goes without saying. These troops were of course only detached battalions (*vexillationes*) of the regiments just named, so that as regards numbers they might quite well be the ten thousand soldiers of Gallienus, mentioned by

³⁵ *Inc. pan. Maxim. et Const.* d. 10-11.

³⁶ *Inc. pan. Const. dict.* 14.

³⁷ As von Domaszewski, *Rh. Mus.*, 57 (1902), p. 514 f., has already done, and also Ritterling, *P.W.R.E.*, xii, col. 1341 f. Domaszewski unfortunately includes non-existent reverses of British corps; in Ritterling we miss the *cohortes praetoriae*. The Lugdunum types with **GALLIENVS CVM EXERC SVO** must not be confused with the legionary coins, as Ritterling has done: the "Roth", quoted by him, is really J. v. Kolb.

Italia (<i>Roma</i>)	cohortes praetoriae	VP VF	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
Germania inferior	legio II. Parthica	VP VF	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
	" I. Minervia	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
	" XXX. Ulpia	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
Germania superior	" VIII. Augusta	VP VF	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
	" XXII. Primigenia	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
Raetia	" III. Italica	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
Noricum	" II. Italica	VP VF	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
Pannonia superior	" X. Gemina	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
	" XIV. Gemina	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
Pannonia inferior	" I. Adiutrix	VP VF	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
	" II. Adiutrix	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
Moesia superior	" III. Flavia	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
	" VII. Claudia	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
Daciae tres	" V. Macedonica	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
	" XIII. Gemina	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
Moesia inferior	" I. Italica	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF
	" XI. Claudia	—	VIP	VIF	VIP	VIF

Zonaras xii. 24: Ἀλαμαννοῖς περὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας οὐσι περὶ τὰ Μεδιόλανα συμβαλὼν μετὰ μυρίων ἐνίκησεν.

Of the two next victory numbers, VII of autumn 260—as we have seen—followed close on VI, both after the disappearance of Valerian from the coinage. Now Victor in his *Caesares*, 33. 1, after the catastrophe of Valerian relates: *sub idem tempus Licinius Gallienus, cum a Gallia Germanos strenue arceret, in Illyricum properans descendit. Ibi Inge(nu)um, quem curantem Pannonios comperta Valeriani clade imperandi cupido incusserat, Murs[i]ae devicit moxque Regalianum qui, receptis militibus, quos Mursina labes reliquos fecerat, bellum duplicaverat.* The subjection in quick succession of the revolts of Ingenuus and Regalianus thus gave rise to the victory numbers VI and VII. The lost biographical history of the emperors, on which Victor in this passage, as also all the later compilers,⁴⁰ depends, knew, however, that the centre of this double rebellion lay in Moesia, as the passage on the *triginta tyranni* shows, 9. 1: *Ingenuus qui Pannonias tunc*

³⁸ Cohen² 532 (Gnecchi Coll.), in error, as the illustration of the specimen on Plate VIII. 6 clearly shows. In the new catalogue of L. Ciani (*Monn. rom., en vente aux prix marqués*), No. 4305, another specimen with **LEG X GEM VII P VII F** is described (with head 1.), which has since been bought by Herr P. Gariazzo of Turin. The latter very kindly sent me a cast of this coin which does really read **VII P VII F**; but, as an absolutely isolated exception, the coin seems to have been struck in error and cannot shake our belief in the deliberateness of the complete absence of the loyalty number **VII** for this legion.

³⁹ Certainly a specimen with **VII P VII F**—as yet unpublished (Voetter Coll.)—exists, which is shown on Plate IX. 8: in all probability, however, it is only an isolated exception, as in the last case.

⁴⁰ Cp. my article in *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, xxxviii (1928), p. 166, note 2.

regebat, a Moesiacis legionibus imperator est dictus, ceteris Pannoniarum volentibus: but the same fact becomes apparent from the Greek tradition, as represented by Zonaras, xii. 24: τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ στρατιωτῶν στασιασάντων καὶ Ἰγγενοῦν αὐτοκράτορα ἀνειπόντων, καὶ τοῦ Γαλιήνου αὐτῷ ἀντιταξαμένου περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ Μαυρουσίους ἐπαγομένου, . . . ὁ Αὐρίολος ἱππαρχῶν γενναίως μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων⁴¹ ἀγωνισάμενος πολλοὺς τῶν τὰ Ἰγγενοῦ φρονοῦντων διώλεσε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐτρέψατο εἰς φυγὴν, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰγγενοῦν φεύγειν ἀπεγνώκοντα καὶ ἐν τῷ φεύγειν ἀναιρεθῆναι παρὰ τῶν δορυφόρων αὐτοῦ. It is obvious, therefore, that when the revolt blazed up again, the Moesians likewise supported Regalian, as the *Epitome de Caesaribus* (32. 3) directly states: *Regilianus (sic) in Moesia . . . (imperator effectus est)*, or as *Trig. Tyr.* 10. 1 has it: *Regilianus denique in Illyrico ducatum gerens imperator est factus auctoribus imperii Moesis, qui cum Ingenuo fuerant antea superati.*

When the legions were hailed as *sextum piae, sextum fideles* for the overthrow of Ingenuus,⁴² at the mint of Milan the epithet was added to the names of the rebel legions too; they were pardoned because required, and so a blind eye was turned on their offences. But when Gallienus was shortly compelled to renew the war in Pannonia, it was simply impossible to honour the rebels as sharers in the *Victoria Augusti septima*.

⁴¹ On the cavalry of Aureolus, cf. *Zeitschr. f. Num.* xxxvii (1927), pp. 198 ff.

⁴² The date of the revolt of Ingenuus in the *Historia Augusta* (A.D. 258) is wrong, as has already been pointed out by H. Peter, *Abh. d. phil.-hist.-kl. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, vol. xxvii, No. 6., 1909, and A. Stein, *P.W.R.E.*, ix., col. 1553 &c.

The corps then which did not receive the loyalty number VII⁴³ formed the army of Regalian.

These are:

legio X Gemina of Vindobona in Upper Pannonia.

legio XIII Gemina of Carnuntum in Upper Pannonia.

legio XIII Gemina: hitherto at Apulum in Dacia.

legio XI Claudia of Durostorum in Lower Moesia.

The coins of Regalian (and Dryantilla) are, it is well-known, found almost exclusively in Upper Pannonia, —chiefly in fact in Carnuntum,⁴⁴ and it has always been certain that X and XIII *Gemina* took part in the rebellion; we now learn from our coins that the literary references to the Moesian rebels refer to the garrison of Silistria. Most interesting is the participation of one of the Dacian legions, to which I shall return later: a portion of the troops stationed in Dacia had already been withdrawn, and its former garrison now defended what remained of the province on the left bank of the Danube or were already completely withdrawn to Moesia.

From these arguments it may rank as certain that the next number, i.e. *Victoria Aug. VIII*, means nothing more nor less than the quelling of the rival Emperor Macrianus in the summer of 261.⁴⁵

⁴³ Ritterling has already suggested (*loc. cit.*) that this circumstance depends on some such cause. For the exceptions with VII P VII F, see notes 38 and 39.

⁴⁴ For the literature on the subject, see A. Stein, *P.W.R.E.*, i. A, col. 458 ff. Cp. also my article in *Blätter f. Münzfreunde*, 1923, p. 354 f., 393.

⁴⁵ A. Stein, *Arch. f. Pap.*, vii, p. 44; Wickert, *P.W.R.E.*, xiii, col. 358 f. (with further literature).

Let us now come to the other numbering. We have already established the fact that Victoria VII of the first series corresponds to Victoria III of the second numbering, so that the following events can now be entered up in the latter as follows:

Victoria I: the victory over the Alamanni at Milan.

Victoria II: the destruction of Ingenuus.

Victoria III: the overthrow of Regalian.

Only those great campaigns, then, are recorded here which were fought under the auspices of Gallienus alone, from the time when Valerian, marching eastwards, entrusted the supreme command of the whole army of the West to his son.⁴⁶ The numbers I and II were certainly reckoned back only subsequently from III; for this second numeration could only arise, when Gallienus after the catastrophe of his father had made a complete break with the policy of Valerian—nay, even went so far as to refuse to make use of the titles of honour which he himself had won under that discredited régime: a highly interesting proof of this serious change in politics, which I have tried elsewhere to portray.⁴⁷

We have still to test the relation of these numbers to the imperial acclamations. The repetitions of the title of "imperator" are, of course, nothing but

⁴⁶ Ritterling, *P.W.R.E.*, xii, col. 1341, has correctly referred the coins with **GALLIENVS CVM EXERC(ITU) SVO** to this division of the army: it is a vital point that these coins were struck in Lugdunum (i.e. not before 257/8). Cp. the distribution in Voetter, *Num. Zeitschr.*, xxxiii, pp. 74 ff.

⁴⁷ Cp. here my article in *Fünf-und-zwanzig Jahre Röm.-Germ. Kommission*, Frankfurt a. M., 1929, p. 17.

a numeration of victories,—only they did not remain so for good. Dessau in a famous⁴⁸ paper has shown that in the time of the tetrarchy of Diocletian they no longer mean more than years of the reign, and that the names of peoples, used as epithets of victory for the Emperor (*Sarmaticus, Persicus, Germanicus, &c.*), are now numbered,⁴⁹ simply in order to take over the function of the now purely conventional “imperator” number.

Dessau further succeeded in proving that the imperial numbers and the numeration of the title of victory over individual peoples are already under Diocletian completely separate ideas—only we cannot completely agree with him that this was already the case under Gallienus. Perhaps we really must draw a line between Postumus and Gallienus: for the former the legends of the coins prove conclusively that his “imperator” scheme simply reckons in regnal years, whereas the “imperator” numbers of Gallienus still refer to actual military successes and seem to be identical with his victory numbers. Judging from the only too scanty available evidence, his imperial acclamations seem to go back to the two reckonings, which we have now determined. Thus:

The gold medallion, Cohen² 796, has the legend, **P M TR P IMP VI COS V P P**: i.e. Gallienus in his tenth or eleventh year of rule (262 or 263) is only six times imperator and just six victories result up to this date, if on the ground of our second numeration after Regalian (= III) we add the conquest of the Macriani,

⁴⁸ *Eph. Ep.*, vii (1892), pp. 432 ff.

⁴⁹ As Eckhel long ago realized: *D.N.*, vii, p. 401.

the Persian victory of Odenathus and the expedition of Gallienus to Asia Minor.⁵⁰

The other style, the original one, of recording numerically the victories attained in war is suggested by two inscriptions:

1. *C.I.L.*, ii. 2200 (= Dessau, *I.L.S.* 552) A.D. 256 or 257: **IMP III.** This corresponds to the third German victory of the Roman coinage and to the epithet *ter pia, ter fidelis* of the *legio V Macedonica* of the same date.
2. *C.I.L.*, viii. 1487 (= Dessau, *I.L.S.* 541), of A.D. 261 or 262: **IMP X.** Two more victories, then, were added to the "eighth" of the Milan coins.⁵¹

This reconstruction of the coin-evidence allows us to see a little farther into the events of these years.

First of all, we can at last determine with precision the date of the usurpation of Postumus. The older school of historians wished as a rule to place this event in 258, and the moderns have mainly followed them in this,⁵² while many students have suggested 259⁵³ or 260.⁵⁴ The real difficulty in the decision of

⁵⁰ Another possibility would be to assume a new reckoning in regnal years after the departure of Valerian.

⁵¹ The rival hypothesis of regnal years can be pleaded.

⁵² For example: Th. Bernhart, *Politische Geschichte des röm. Reiches von Valerian bis zur Diokletians Regierungsantritt* (1867), p. 283 f.; Herzog, *Gesch. u. System der röm. Staatsverfassung*, ii (1887), p. 554, No. 3; A. Stein, *P.W.R.E.*, ii, col. 1658 ff.; Dessau, *I.L.S.*, No. 561, n. 1; C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, iv³ (1924), p. 572 and note 4; H. Schiller, *Gesch. d. r. Kaiserzeit* (1883), p. 833; M. A. Roger, *Rev. hist.*, 61 (1896), pp. 1 ff.—Mommson, *Röm. Gesch.*, v⁴, p. 151, note 1, suggested 258 or 259.

⁵³ Goyau, *Chronol. de l'emp. rom.* (1891), p. 312. Rostovtzeff, *Social and econ. history of the R. E.* (1926), p. 391.—Klebs, *P.I.R.*, i, p. 311, cannot decide between 259 and 260.

⁵⁴ Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.*, iii, pp. 448 ff. (ed. Paris); Clinton, *Fasti rom.*, i, p. 284; so too Voetter and Kubitschek—see next note.

this question lay in the fact that the literary authorities directly contradict one another on the point as to whether it was by the murder of the elder son of Gallienus,—Valerian Caesar (died 258), or the younger—Saloninus (died 260), that Postumus reached power. Even this choice could only be clearly formulated, after the distinction in general between the two princes had been established on the initiative of Regling,⁵⁵ supported by Voetter⁵⁶ and Kubitschek,⁵⁷ on the evidence of inscriptions and coins. As far as the literary side of the problem is concerned, it is enough to quote Regling's arguments;⁵⁸ since he first put the problem at issue in the right light, no vital contribution has been made towards its decision.

As we now know that the Rhine legions could still be praised as loyal to Gallienus after the tragic end of his father in 260, it follows that the rising of Postumus was connected with the death of the younger son, Saloninus. Further, on the Milan coins it is easy to grasp the fact that a considerable number of antoniniani were struck for Saloninus after the disappearance of Valerian,⁵⁹—Saloninus, then, outlived his grandfather. On the other hand, his death must fall before the end of the year, otherwise Gallienus would not, contrary to earlier practice, enter on the consulship on January 1, 261, with a private indivi-

⁵⁵ *Wochenschr. f. klass. Philologie*, 1904, pp. 610 ff.; *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1908, pp. 115-120.

⁵⁶ *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1908, pp. 78-101.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-114.

⁵⁸ *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1908, pp. 118-120. The difficulties are likewise emphasized by C. Jullian, *op. cit.*, and Wickert, *P.W.R.E.*, xiii, col. 245 and 345 ff.

⁵⁹ *Cp. Zeitschr. f. Num.*, xxxvii (1927), p. 201, n. 1.

dual as colleague,⁶⁰ and, as the coins give Postumus ten years and he cannot have been alive after 269, once again his first year must begin before January 1, 261. A. Stein⁶¹ has made it appear probable that he came to the throne after December 10; we can now, it appears, be more precise: between the 10th and 31st of December 260.⁶²

We are bound to agree with Kubitschek and Regling⁶³ against Voetter, that the consecration coins with **DIVO CAES VALERIANO** were only designed for the elder brother. But—as the row of obverses No. 6 to 9 on our **Pl. V** establishes beyond doubt—there is yet another **DIVVS** who belongs to the great issue of Rome of the end of 260,—entitled on the antoninianus [**Pl. V. 8**] **DIVO CAES Q GALLIENO**. This specimen from the Voetter Collection came, on his authority, from the Pembroke Collection, and must be identical with the coin delineated in 1746 in the work *Numismata antiqua quae collegit olim et aeri incidi vivens curavit Thomas Pembrochia comes*; it is, in my opinion, undoubtedly genuine.⁶⁴ Compare the part

⁶⁰ A fact that had already struck Wickert (*op. cit.*).

⁶¹ *P.W.R.E.*, iii, 1659.

⁶² The absence of the Spanish and British corps in the series of legionary reverses seems to have no special historical significance, as Ritterling, *P.W.R.E.*, xii, col. 1342 f., has suggested; here, as in the time of Septimius Severus, it seemed enough to flatter the Rhine and Danube corps.

⁶³ *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1908, pp. 110 and 118.

⁶⁴ The specimen in the British Museum is not only from the same dies, but both obverse and reverse dies are placed on the flan in exactly the same manner,—further it shows the same cuts on the edge that arose at the striking of the original; it must therefore be a copy of the Voetter coin. Regling, *Woch. f. klass. Phil.* 1904, col. 613, note 6, calls attention to the note in the



round the mouth with **Pl. V. 6** and **9**, the truncation of the bust with **Pl. V. 7**, the hair at the back of the head with **Pl. V. 6**—finally the letters with those of these same pieces, and we shall have to admit that these fine details of style on the coin [**Pl. V. 8**] agree absolutely with the surrounding coins—in a way that is only possible if all are the work of one and the same die-sinker: a forger could never produce anything of this quality,—and surely not before 1746!

If, however, this antoninianus is genuine, the Caesar consecrated on it can be none other than Saloninus, then just dead. The **Q** in the reverse legend, then cannot mean "Quintus", as was thought,⁶⁵ but, as commonly on sepulchral inscriptions: **Q(uondam)**. To distinguish him from the living Emperor Gallienus, they therefore describe the dead prince as "**DIVO CAES(ari) Q(uondam) GALLIENO**."⁶⁶ And indeed other coins of Saloninus give him his father's name:

Catalogue of the Pembroke Sale (1848), No. 1187; but a genuine coin must certainly lie behind it.

⁶⁵ Cohen², vol. v, p. 530, speaks of a coin, to which we must return again, with **DIVO CAES GALLIENO** (No. 4) which he assigns to a non-existent Quintus Julius Gallienus; he gives no authorities or reasons, but something must lie behind the coins, perhaps in Vaillant, Pr. ii, p. 378, whom I quote from Rasche, iv. 668; cp. also Münsterberg, N.Z., 1926, pp. 47 and 71.

⁶⁶ Tanini, p. 66, publishes from the Pembroke Coll. a similar piece with **DIVO CAES GALLIENO** and head 1. In view of the great rarity of these coins one might suppose it a bad description of the same specimen. He also describes a coin with **CONSECRATIO**, Eagle looking skyward; and **DIVO CAES GALLIENO**, head, laureate r., from the Vatican: the laureate head seems suspicious but in this connexion the coin deserves attention.

1. Vaillant² 187 (= Mionnet 2, p. 443, Nos. 1221-2) shows coins of Perinthus with Πο. Λικίν. Κορινθίλιος Γαλιήνος Καίσρ.
2. Tanini (p. 108) describes, after Occo and Mezzabarba, a middle brass of Heliopolis with: **SAL GALLIENVS NOB CAES.**
3. In the same place he quotes a bronze of Antioch in Pisidia⁶⁷ with **IMP CAES P LIC COR GALLIENO**, "Young radiate head of Saloninus"; *rev.* three standards. Despite Regling's⁶⁸ doubts, this coin must be quoted, as our next item proves.
4. Webb (*R.I.C.*, vol. V. i, Preface, p. vii) has already quoted in brief an unpublished antoninianus, which comes from the find of Icklingham (Suffolk) and which I can now give by the kind permission of the owner, Mr. Beck:⁶⁹ *rev.* **CONCORDIA MILITVM**, three standards, ; *obv.* **P COR SAL GALLIENVS NOB CAE** c . [Pl. V. 10.] This coin—to judge from style—comes from an as yet unknown mint of Asia Minor, which must have been opened at this date in place of Antioch—or perhaps we should rather say promoted from the rank of local to that of imperial mint.

The great rarity of these coins, which call Saloninus *Gallienus*, seems to suggest the guess, that it was not till the end of 260, when, as we have already seen, everything that could recall the unhappy old emperor was put away, that Saloninus had to give up the detested name of Valerian and exchange it for that of his father. (The same *damnatio memoriae* is attested by another fact which Wickert has [*P.W.R.E.*, xiii, col. 351 sq.] already observed; this is the disappear-

⁶⁷ Cp. Cohen² v, p. 529, No. 101.

⁶⁸ *Num. Zeitschr.* 1908, p. 118, n. 2. Cp. also *Wochenschr. f. klass. Phil.* 1904, col. 612 f., where he quotes further literature.

⁶⁹ See also my note in *Num. Chron.*, 1928, p. 112. My friend, Mr. Mattingly, has kindly put me in touch with the owner.

ance of the surname "Valerianus" of Gallienus himself in Egypt from A.D. 261 onwards.) Further the coins show that Zonaras (xii. 24) was right after all in calling the son of Gallienus, who was murdered by Postumus, *παῖδα . . . ὁμώνυμον*, and in speaking of him a second time as *νέος Γαλιήνος*. The compiler of the *Historia Augusta*, too, knew of this tradition, when, in the *Life of Gallienus*, 19. 1, he mentions *Saloninus Gallienus*⁷⁰ and 19. 2 can say of him: *de huius nomine magna est ambiguitas, nam multi eum Gallienum, multi Saloninum historiae prodiderunt*, and again in the frankly fabulous tale in the *Vita Gallieni*, 20. 4: *arcum . . . quae haberet inscriptum "Gallieno iuniori", "Salonino" additum*.

One more remark. In the *Life of Gallienus*, 19. 3, it is recorded how this prince got his name: *Saloninum idcirco quod apud Salonas natus esset, cognominatum ferunt*. This is an imitation of the story of Saloninus, son of Asinius Pollio, preserved in the commentary on Virgil's fourth Eclogue, e.g. in the Berne scholia⁷¹; there we read: *Saloninus dictus a Salonis civitate Dalmatiae, nam Pollio pro consule Dalmatiae constitutus progeniuit eum*. This connexion may perhaps reveal other threads, from which the *Historia Augusta* has been woven.⁷²

⁷⁰ The *Life of Gallienus* has the precise title *Gallieni duo*, cp. too, *Life of Valerian*, 8. 5: *Saloninum, filium Gallieni, qui et Gallienus est dictus*.

⁷¹ Cp. also *Jun. Philargyri expl. in Verg. Bucol* (= Servius, ed. Thilo-Hagen, iii, 2, p. 72 f.) and Servius (ed. Thilo-Hagen, iii, 1, p. 44) on the beginning of the Fourth Eclogue.

⁷² Domaszewski, *Die Personennamen bei den S.H.A.* (Sitz. Ber. d. Heidelb. Akad. Phil. hist. Kl., 1918, 13. Abhandlung), p. 11, has already surmised that the false name "Trebellius Pollio" was an

Since research has established that Saloninus was dead before the end of 260,⁷³ the notice in Zonaras xii. 26, according to which a son of Gallienus was murdered in 268, has been completely rejected. It runs: *Ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ γε ἡ σύγκλητος μαθοῦσα τὴν τοῦ Γαλιήνου ἀναίρεσιν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκείνου καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐθανάτωσαν.*⁷⁴ But may not a third son of the Emperor have been living, and have been murdered with his uncle at the fall of his father? I think one can give a decided answer in the affirmative to this question, and I am convinced that the third son of Gallienus was the *consul ordinarius* of A.D. 268, named Marinianus after his grandmother. Friedländer himself thought of this solution when he published the magnificent Berlin medallion with the *processus consularis* of Marinian,⁷⁵ where he appears as a child, for whom his imperial father bears the eagle-sceptre: undoubtedly we are meant to see in him the future ruler of the Empire for apart from the Victory crowning the Emperor, a second celestial being flies towards Marinianus, offering him her wreath. There can be no question that the intention was to carry out his nomination as Caesar

invention in memory of Asinius Pollio: this is strengthened by the parallel just quoted. Trebellius, partisan of Antonius, and (Asinius) Pollio were surely often named together in the historical literature, as e.g. in Plutarch, Anton. 9. Other connexions of the Hist. Aug. with Servius have been noticed by Dessau, *Hermes*, xxix (1894), 415, n. 1.

⁷³ Cp. further the summing up by Wickert, *P.W.R.E.*, xii, col. 236 ff.

⁷⁴ The author of the *Life of Gallienus*, too, seems to have read some similar account, note particularly 19. 1: *occisus (Saloninus) deinde non sua sed patris causa*; cp. too, *Vict. Caes.* 33. 31.

⁷⁵ *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, x, pp. 60 ff. = Gneecchi, *I Medagl.*, ii, p. 107,

without delay. Regling,⁷⁶ indeed, thought that Marinianus was only a step-son of Gallienus, whom he adopted in order to assure the succession, but in the coins we have the proof that his family received an addition after the death of the two eldest sons. We have a type of Salonina, **FECVNDITAS AVG**, Empress and child, struck in Rome in the great mass-issue in nine officinae⁷⁷—i.e. c. A.D. 265–266; it was probably the birth of Marinianus that was commemorated by it.

So we may well believe that Gallienus after the catastrophe of his father and the death of his two sons, and the deluge of hostile invasions and insurrections, and the nerve-shattering shocks of his fifteen years of rule, yet never lost his energy and confidence: a third son was born to him—a ray of hope in the bitter fights which he fought for the salvation of the Empire.

Further, the joint issue of the mints of Rome and Milan after Valerian's death, which we have worked out here, at last provides a foundation for the judgement of the variously interpreted types **PIETAS FALERI**, **VIRTVS FALERI**. In my firm opinion these are a mere fragment of a great lost series of types, which are produced within the frame of this same issue of the two Italian mints.

(a) Mint of Rome. **VIRTVS FALERI**, with the weapons and attribute of Hercules, on *obv.* head of

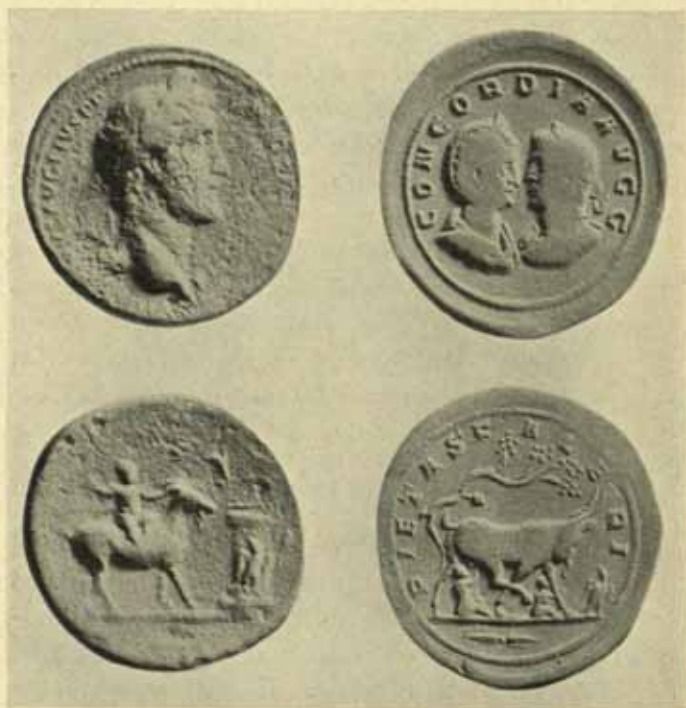
No. 9 and Pl. 113. 10. Cp. also my note, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, xxxvii (1927), p. 202, note 1.

⁷⁶ *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1908, p. 120, n. 1.

⁷⁷ Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. XIII. 5–6, 16–17, and *Num. Zeitschr.*, xxxii (1900), p. 132.

Gallienus in lion-skin, i.e. as Hercules, but radiate [Pl. II. 12], or, also, the usual cuirassed bust [Pl. II. 7].

(b) Mint of Milan. Here belongs the medallion,



Figs. 1 and 2.

Fig. 2, **PIETAS FALERI**, with a type which we must discuss below, with the portraits of Gallienus and his wife, and legend **CONCORDIA AVGVSTI ET AVGVSTAE**.⁷⁵ The bust of Gallienus on obverse

⁷⁵ Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, 1896, p. 399, wished to see in the two **C**'s a sign of the joint rule of Valerian and Gallienus, but the two busts surely betray the persons in question. A specimen in gold is

shows beyond dispute the style of the first issue of Milan.⁷⁹

Falerius is undoubtedly the nickname (*signum*) of Gallienus, as Kubitschek was the first to observe,⁸⁰ but Babelon (*op. cit.*) may still have hit the mark with his suggestion that the word is connected with the name of the town Falerii. The gentile name of Gallienus on the mother's side (*Egnatia*) is particularly common in this district, and we have still an extraordinary number of inscriptions on which this little Etruscan town honoured Gallienus and his family. There is also a passage in Aurelius Victor (32. 3) which I should like to explain from the origin of the Emperor from this district, an unkind anecdote from the senatorial circles, which, as I believe, is linked up with no chance resort, but his actual home: *Eius filium Gallienum senatus Caesarem creat, statimque Tiberis adulta aestate diluvii facie inundavit. Prudentes perniciosum rei publicae cecinere adolescentis fluxo ingenio, quia Etruria accitus venerat, unde amnis praedictus.*

known, in Paris, fig. 2 = Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, 1896, pp. 397 ff. = Gneecchi, *I Medagl.*, i, p. 8, n. 1 and Pl. III, 7 = Webb, *R.I.C.*, v, 1, p. 105, n. 1; specimen in billon in Vienna = Cohen² 9 (after Khell) = Gneecchi, *I Medagl.*, i, p. 54, No. 1 and Pl. XXVII, 8 = Webb, *op. cit.*, No. 2.

⁷⁹ This has not yet been recognized. The cuirassed bust l., which arose here from the necessity of not letting the Emperor, represented "in harmony" with Salonina, turn his back on his wife is in general rare. I know, e.g. a specimen in the Vienna Cabinet, with **LEG VII CL VI P VIF** and one in the Voetter Coll. with *rev.* **IOVI CONSERVA** (Jupiter standing l. $\frac{S}{-}$).

Cp. for the characteristics of style, Pl. VIII. 11 and 13.

⁸⁰ *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1908, p. 166.

As regards the reverse of the medallion (Fig. 2) Babelon has already recognized that it is the nurture of the baby Jupiter by the she-goat that is represented, and has pointed to the analogy of the fine medallion of Pius (Fig. 1). Only over one point has the distinguished scholar gone astray,⁸¹ the presence of the two sucklings, in whom he wished to recognize *Veiovis* and *Diiovis*. The true meaning becomes obvious, as soon as we adduce the following kindred types of the period.

It is clear that the mythological framework of all these types is simply chosen in order to represent the crown-prince as bringer of the golden age—a counterpart to the gospel of the imperial worship. Rejoicing he comes as (*novus*) *Iuppiter crescens* to bring *laetitia* (*temp(orum)*) to weary humanity; like the baby Jupiter in Diodorus v. 71, he is the benefactor of humanity, the peace-bringing world-ruler of the near future. The *piet(as) saeculi* is intimately related to this world of thought; in contrast to the *impia aetas* of the present the *aureum tempus* belongs to an elect race, *pia gens*.⁸² It is the Emperor, of course, who is most distinguished for this virtue and the *pietas Faleri*, *Aug(usti et Augustae)* is the dutiful care of the Emperor, who brings up the bearer of the blessing. The scene, which is represented on the reverse [Pl. X. 7] with a divine child taking suck, appears in full form on

⁸¹ His reference of the type to the plague of 262, approved by Blanchet (*Rev. belge de num.*, 58 (1902), p. 131, cp. also Kenner, *Num. Z.*, 1902, 315; and A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i, 713, 5) naturally must be omitted, because we have now the correct dating.

⁸² Horat. *Epod.* xvi. 9 and 63 sqq. To this context belongs for example the verse cited by W. Weber from Buecheler, *Carm. epigr.* 271. 6: *Hadriani tamen ad pia saecula*.

(a) MINT OF VIMINACIUM (Pl. X. 6-11), A. D. 256-257.⁸³

1	Æ I	IOVI EXORIENTI The baby Jupiter riding l. on goat, hold- ing the horn of the goat with one hand, raising the other (much retouched; probably originally CRESC[ENT]I!)	PIETAS SAECVLI	Φ	Paris, Pl. X. 6	Cohen ² 33 (the bust is right for Valerian Caesar) = Webb, <i>R.I.C.</i> , v. 1, p. 119, No. 1
2	Ant.	LAETIT TEMP Type as 1	IMP GALLIENVS P AVG	e Φ	Pl. X. 9 (Budapest)	Voetter, <i>Atlas</i> , XV. 60, 62.
3	"	PIET SAECVLI	"	"		<i>Ibid.</i> , XV. 59-60
4	"	"	"	Φ	Pl. X. 8 (Budapest)	<i>Ibid.</i> , XV. 57-59
5	"	PIET SAECVLI She-goat l. suckling baby Jupiter	"	e Φ	Pl. X. 7 (Budapest)	<i>Ibid.</i> , XV. 60-61
6	"	IOVI CRESCENTI The baby Jupiter riding r. on goat	P LIC VALERIANVS CAES	Φ	Pl. X. 10	<i>Ibid.</i> , I. 50-52.
7	"	"	"	Φ		<i>Ibid.</i> , I. 51-52 (under Rome in error).

⁸³ Before 256 there was no Caesar; after 257 the mint was not in existence.

(b) MINT OF ROME (A. D. 256-258).

I	Ant.	IOVI CRESCENTI As above	P C L VALERIANVS NOB CAES	Φ ♂	Pl. X. 12 (Budapest)	Voetter, Num. Z., 1908, Pl. V. 21-27 (in error with obv. of Viminacium)
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(c) MINT OF LUGDUNUM (A. D. 257-258).

1	Ant.	IOVI CRESCENTI As above	VALERIANVS CAES	Φ ♂	Pl. X. 14 (Budapest)	Voetter, Num. Z., 1908, Pl. III. 1-2
2	"	"	IMP GALLIENS PIVS AVG	c ♂	Pl. X. 13 (Vienna)	Hybrid
3	A Q	"	VALERIANVS CAES	Φ	Pl. X. 15 (Munich) ²¹	Men., p. 129, no. 2 (in error combined with the following).
4	A	"	"	" "	Pl. X. 16 (Paris)	Men., p. 129, no. 2.

²¹ A work of the die-sinker of Viminacium, who was transferred to Lugdunum, cp. Pl. X. 10; but the thin neck and pointed bust are already definite marks of Lugdunum.

the medallion (Fig. 2); there we find two children under the she-goat, Jupiter and his counterpart, Saloninus—who, alas, was never destined to bring back the *aurea aetas*.

Rising in the same world of thought as that which gave birth to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, the thought of the imperial child as founder of a new age of bliss was already familiar in the beginning of the Empire and appears on coins as early as Tiberius, with the two princes smiling out of their cornuacopiae,—and returns often later, to proclaim the *felicitas saeculi*. As forerunner of our type the medallion of Pius (Fig. 1) already quoted by Babelon, is of particular importance. But, for all that, the rich development under Gallienus of these descriptions in pictures of the prince as *Jupiter crescens* deserves our careful attention. In the first place, I would suggest that the Messianic prophecies of the Fourth Eclogue have exercised a direct and an immediate influence here. We must remember that the older interpreters sought in the *nascens puer* of that most wonderful of all poems a son of Asinius Pollio, whose name was Saloninus, and that this view was so widely spread that the Eclogue in the introduction of Servius is simply called *genethliacon Salonini*. The prince of our medallions of Milan was also called Saloninus, and it is only natural to assume that the court-flatterers aimed at transferring the prophecies supposed to apply to the earlier Saloninus to his living namesake.

More important than this hypothesis, I think, is the light that our coin-types, in their turn, throw on the serious problem of the Fourth Eclogue.

The unrivalled art of Eduard Norden as interpreter

has recently shown us⁸⁵ that the Redeemer child of Virgil is no mere mortal, but an ideal figure of religious speculation from the primitive stock of Eastern religious thought,—a figure that played a prominent part in the oriental and Hellenistic theology of the centuries after Alexander the Great and which, owing to the general craving for peace, was revived with enormous effect during the bloody decades of the civil wars. This "sun-child", then, is rapt from earth into the heavenly sphere of religion—so far, in my judgement, with perfect justice. But can we at the same time allow the poem to vanish in that sublime spiritual world? Norden⁸⁶ holds that "the poet was not concerned with the affairs of this world, he lived in the ideal and fled from actualities", but we feel,—nay more we can prove on the one hand, that the theology of the Redeemer only forms the background, and on the other, that a very definite relation to human affairs is apparent. We are helped to an understanding of this relation by the coins here in question.

On the coin-type, Fig. 2, we saw a mythological child as bringer of blessings and by him a mortal child, as his double: *Iupiter crescens* and Saloninus Caesar. This duality meets us again in the poem, where beside the *cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum* stands a human being, Asinius Pollio. Any misconception of this analogy is excluded, as the author leaves no room for doubt that the age of bliss is to be introduced by two agencies: beside the true leader, the

⁸⁵ Ed. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes. Geschichte einer religiösen Idee*, Leipzig, 1924.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

*puer, quo ferrea primum
desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,*

stands the bearer of the highest human dignity at the time :

*teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule, inibit
Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses.*

And as in the coin-type the heavenly *Καρποφόρος* is placed in the middle of the picture and the crown-prince is only his *alter ego*, so too in the pastoral: but, just as the allegory of the coin is only there for the sake of the prince, so too the prophecy of the Eclogue was only made to cast a gleam of more than earthly glory round the entrance of the poet's patron on his consulship.⁸⁷

To urge that the roll of Pollio is far more modest than that of a double of the sun-child, is certainly wrong. True, Virgil with his fine self-respect has naturally done his best to soften this exaltation of his hero to the divine sphere, but it is obvious, none the less, that Pollio has the same function at the rebirth of the world-age as the divine child :

te duce si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri
say verses 13 ff. of him—

inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras :
and, of the child, verse 31 says :

pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis
which vanish, verse 37,

ubi iam firmata virum te fecerit aetas.

⁸⁷ Cp. Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 ff., for the exact date.

The identity of expression *sceleris vestigia* and *vestigia fraudis* is strongly evidential.

So with Virgil too, despite his accomplished art the unavoidable contradiction betrays itself—unavoidable, when you celebrate a man as bringer of the golden age, since you are limited in describing it to certain solemn and traditional features of myth, which will not fit a mortal. This discord must have already existed in the Hellenistic eulogy praising Alexander the Great or one of his followers as leader of the golden age,—which, I believe, served Virgil as a model,⁸⁸ and it is still to be seen often enough in extant eulogies from the imperial times. Of Nero Calpurnius could still maintain

*iuvenem laeta sequuntur,
saecula* (I. l. 44 f.),

or the youth Saloninus could be represented as *crescens*. But, when the accession of Nerva is described in Tacitus (*Agric.* 3) as *beatissimi saeculi ortus*, it might have really made the *nascens puer* laugh, to see the hoary elder, Nerva, as his double.

But nowhere is Virgil's poetic genius more admirable than here. Not only has he succeeded in finding in the disjointed utterance of an inspired bard the justification for shifting his address to and fro between the divine child and Pollio, but, by this very abruptness of diction, he has produced throughout an effect of *chiaroscuro*, the mystic charm of which is not to be escaped.

⁸⁸ Norden, *Rhein. Mus.*, N. F., 54 (1899), pp. 468 ff., has demonstrated the existence of such a model for the eulogy of Augustus in Book VI of the *Aeneid*.

Perhaps we can even go a step farther. Even supposing it should turn out that there is no special connexion between the coins of Gallienus, here in question, and the Eclogue, a general connexion between the two cannot be denied. Virgil himself in the course of years adapted the symbolism of the founder of the golden age to Augustus,⁸⁹ and almost all the poets of the first century B.C. have, as is well known, applied his metaphor and phrases to the praise of their emperors as Redeemers of mankind,⁹⁰ and the practice continued later. I venture, therefore, to ask, whether we should not look for the *Iupiter crescens* of our coins in Virgil too, for it is a figure which might afford a national Roman setting to the amazingly various conceptions of the Redeemer, which flow here into one from so many Greek and Eastern sources. I must leave the answer of this question to the experts, but would only make the following observations: *Redeunt Saturnia regna* says Virgil (v. 6),⁹¹ that is, the time of the birth of Jupiter. We must certainly admit that *magnum Iovis incrementum* means an offspring of Jupiter, but in ancient thought there was no absolute need to understand by that a son of the supreme god—rather it might be a renewal of the god himself, which moved parallel with the renewal of the golden age. An epigram from Philae cited by Norden is dedicated to Augustus as *Kαίσαρι . . . Ζαῖνι τῷ ἐκ*

⁸⁹ The whole course of development is admirably brought out by W. Weber, *Der Prophet und sein Gott.*, 1925, pp. 139 ff.

⁹⁰ It is enough here to quote Martial, vi. 3, the most striking example.

⁹¹ *Tuus iam regnat Apollo*, denotes not the new world-age, but rather the astrological constellation reigning at the dawn of the age of bliss. Cp. Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 ff.

Ζανὸς πατὴρς Ἑλευθερίῳ⁹² (i.e. as *Iovi* and *Iovis incremento* at once), and expressions such as *vetus* and *novus Iuppiter*⁹³ often occur; and these conceptions are undoubtedly older than the worship of the emperors, older than Virgil. It seems to me of importance that we can demonstrate that Saloninus, who has already appeared as *Iupiter crescens*, was at the same time *ab Iove demissum genus*. Billon coins were struck for him in Antioch,⁹⁴ on the reverse of which Jupiter and the Emperor appear as *Dii Nutritores*, that is, as the tutors of the child, who

*pacatum reget patriis virtutibus orbem.*⁹⁵

Further, *crescens* and *incrementum* seem to be derived from the same religious term. The most puzzling picture of the Eclogue, the reading god-child (vv. 26-27: *At simul heroum laudes et facta parentis | iam*

⁹² Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.*, 978 = *Inscr. Gr. ad v. Rom. pert.*, i, 1295. Cp. also A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i, pp. 398 sq., 647, 711. An interesting use of the terms *magnus* and *iuvēnis* Juppiter implying complementary aspects of the same idea is found in Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 229 ff.: *Nunc te prole tua iuvenem Germania sentit, Bellaque pro magno Caesare Caesar obit.*

⁹³ Martial, vii. 73, &c.

⁹⁴ Cohen² 21 = Voetter, *Atlas*, Pl. XXII. 58, 59 = Webb, *R.I.C.*, v. 1, p. 127, No. 35 and Pl. V. 74.

⁹⁵ There is another coin of great interest (mint of Rome, c. A.D. 260), now in the British Museum, which I should describe rather differently from Mr. Webb (*R.I.C.*, v. 1, p. 190, No. 6). The reverse legend must be either [TEMP(orum) FELICI]TATIS or [PERP(etuae) SECVR]TATIS. There is a seated goddess, with wings (the engraver in error thought of Victory and so, in defiance of his model, gave her a little palm-branch), to whom a woman is presenting a naked child (cp. Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 sqq.): if this is the *nascens puer* the child in clothes behind the seat of the goddess is, once more, the crown-prince.

legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus) can be brought into connexion with the supreme Roman god too. Cp. Ovid, *Hist.*, ii. 69 sqq.: *fama Iovi superest, tamen hunc sua facta referri | et se materiam carminis esse iuvat, | cumque Gigantei memorantur proelia belli, | credibile est laetum laudibus esse suis*, &c. Concerning the presentation of the *Καρποφόρος* to the council of gods, cp. Strong, *Apotheosis*, p. 85 and Pl. XI.

Finally, I should like most warmly to thank the editors for the handsome publication, and my friend, H. Mattingly, for assistance in many ways.⁹⁶

A. ALFÖLDI.

[P.S.—As this goes to press, I learn that the coin described on p. 264, no. 4, has been acquired by the British Museum.]

⁹⁶ This little study has only been rendered possible by the most generous assistance with casts from the staffs of the great Coin Cabinets. Before all I must thank K. Pink (of Vienna),—also L. Cesano (Rome), G. F. Hill and H. Mattingly (London), K. Regling (Berlin), M. Bernhart (Munich), E. Pridik (Petrograd), G. Galster (Copenhagen), A. David and J. Babelon (Paris), C. Serafini (Rome), L. Schwinkovski (Dresden), P. Harsányi and E. Jónás (Budapest), V. Hoffiller and J. Klemenc (Zagreb). Among private collections I have profited much by seeing the rich series of Count Cornaggia, Lafranchi (Milan), Hollschek and Trau (Vienna), Ivanac (Zagreb); G. Elmer most kindly obtained for me the casts of the Weifert Collection (Belgrade), P. v. Strack those of the Cabinets in Bologna, Florence, and Naples, and M. v. Bahrfeldt those of the Madrid National Museum. I offer one and all my best thanks.

X.

THE FIRST GOLD ISSUES OF THE TETRARCHY AT SISCIA.

[SEE PLATE XXII.]



MR. P. H. WEBB, who knew that I was preparing a *Corpus* of coins struck at Siscia, has asked me if I know of any gold coins of this mint of Diocletian and his co-rulers, which were issued before the date of the reform of the coinage.

Although I am only beginning to collect the material for this period, I should like very much to help him, especially as even at this early stage I am able to answer in the affirmative his main question, whether gold was struck at Siscia before the reforms.

The peculiarities of style of these earliest issues which never bear any mint-mark are illustrated on Plate XXII.

The first series continues, without alteration, the style of portraiture, the size and diameter of the aurei of the sons of Carus (cf. Pl. XXII. 1 with 2).

1. **MARTI PACIFERO.** Mars standing to l. with branch, and leaning on his sceptre.

IMP C VAL MAXIMIANVS PF AVG  .

(a) Vienna. *N* 79.2 grn. (5.13 grm., pierced) 19 mm.
[Pl. XXII. 2.]


(b) Budapest (much worn).

So far I have not discovered the corresponding aureus of Diocletian.


The dies of the next series are a very little larger.

The connexion may be seen from a comparison of the features of **PL. XXII. 3** with 1.

2. **VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM**. Hercules standing to r., leaning his left arm on his club and holding a bow and lion's skin in the right. The type was also struck at Siscia in bronze (cf. **PL. XXII. 5** and 6).

IMP C MAXIMIANVS PF AVG . Ermitage, no. 589. *A* 19 mm. [**PL. XXII. 3.**]


3. **IOVI CONSERVATORI**. Jupiter standing to l.; holding sceptre in r. hand and thunderbolt in l.

IMP C DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG .

Hirsch, *Sale Cat.*, xxxiii, 1913, no. 1451. *A* 83.4 grn. (5.4 grm.) 19 mm.

A third series consists of somewhat larger pieces.

4. **VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM** as above.


IMP C M A VAL MAXIMIANVS PF AVG c .

Budapest: in poor condition. [**PL. XXII. 4.**]

5. Similar, but .

Voetter,¹ *Num. Zeitschr.*, liii (1920), Pl. XI (provenance not given). 21 mm.

6. **MARTI PACIFERO**. Mars hastening to l. with branch and spear.

IMP C DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG c .

Vienna. *A* 80.5 grn. (5.22 grm., pierced) 22 mm.

7. **IOVI CONSERVATORI**. Jupiter standing to l. with thunderbolt in r. hand and sceptre in l. This type accompanies the reverse **VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM** of Maximian on the early issues of antoniniani of Siscia (cf. **PL. XXII. 7.**)

¹ Voetter here wrongly included the aurei with \overline{SC} and $\overline{SC*}$: these properly belong to Cyzicus, as Laffranchi has already pointed out (cf. *Riv. Ital. di Num.*, 1910, Pl. III).

IMP C DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG 

Evans Coll.; Naville, *Sale Cat.*, iii (1922), no. 149.
N 84.6 grn. (5.48 grm.) 21 mm. [Pl. XXII. 10.]

I have not yet been able to settle definitely whether the following two aurei belong to the issues of Siscia just described or were perhaps struck in Rome.

8. **MARTI PROPVGNATORI.** Mars in armour and helmet advancing to r. with shield and spear.

IMP C DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG 

Egger, *Sale Cat.*, xxxix (1912), no. 1358. *N* 79 grn.
 (5.12 grm.) 22 mm. [Pl. XXII. 11.]

The letters seem to me to be Siscian; compare especially the end of the obverse inscription with Plate XXII. 10. With the next piece it is even more difficult to decide between the two mints. The letters thickening in the middle, originally a characteristic of Cyzicus, are undoubtedly to be attributed to Siscia. Cf. Pl. XXII. 10 *rev.*: the reverse itself is also possible for Rome.

9. **VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM** as above.

IMP C MAXIMIANVS PF AVG 

Hirsch, *Sale Cat.*, xxix (1910), no. 1357 (Pl. XXX).
N 84.1 grn. (5.45 grm.).

The following quinarii, however, certainly belong to the latest series of Siscia.

10. **IOVI CONSERVATORI** as on no. 7; the disproportionately large head of Jupiter is characteristic of and common to both.

MP C DIOCLETIANVS AVG 

N quin. Egger, *Sale Cat.*, xxxix (1912), no. 1357
 (now in Berlin). 48.7 grn. (3.16 grm.) (Pl. XXX).

11. Similar. Bronze quin., Zagreb. [Pl. XXII. 9.]


It is not till after these that we get the first series of reform issues, like Pl. XXII. 12, of much smaller diameter but higher relief. This first series, however, still has no mint-mark. So far I have noted the following as belonging to it.

12. IOVI CONS—ERVATORI, as on no. 10.

DIOCLETI—ANVS AVG .

Vienna, 23376. *N* 84.1 grn. (5.45 grm.) 18 mm.

13. Similar.

DIOCLETI—ANVS P AVG .


Helbing, *Sale Cat.*, 24 xi 1927, no. 3821. *N*; 74.1 grn. (4.80 grm.) 18-19 mm. [Pl. XXII. 12.]

14. Similar, but *rev.* legend —IOVI CONS—ERVATORI.

(a) Vienna, 37067. *N*; 88.3 grn. (5.72 grm.).

(b) London. *N*; 90.2 grn. (5.84 grm.) 18 mm.

15. HERCVLI D—EBELLAT Hercules l., slaying Hydra with club in r. hand.

MAXIMI—ANVS AVG .

(a) Vienna, 23862. *N* 87.2 grn. (5.65 grm.).

(b) London. *N* 87.6 grn. (5.7 grm.) 18 mm.

(c) Serrure, *Sale Cat.*, 25 v 1901, Pl. II. 111.

(d) Rollin-Feuardent, *Sale Cat.*, 26 v 1909, Pl. XIII 308, &c.

16. Similar.

MAXIMIA—NVS P AVG

Paris. *N* .94 grn. (6.09 grm.).

17. Similar, but **IVVENTVTIS** on the rev.

Vienna, 24739. *N* 87.28 grn. (5.65 grm); much worn.

So far I have not seen the type struck for Chlorus : after the above came the issues with mint-marks, first SIS* and then SIS.

ANDREAS ALFÖLDI.

Budapest.

XI.

A FIND OF NOBLES AT HORSTED KEYNES, SUSSEX.

[PLATE XXI.]

On 7 January, 1929, a labourer digging ground, which was believed to be virgin soil, about fifty yards north-west of the Manor House on Broadhurst Manor, Horsted Keynes, found in a spit of earth at a depth of 9 inches below the surface a hoard of 64 gold nobles together with fragments of the earthenware jar which had contained them. I am indebted to Mr. John Clarke, on whose property the coins were found, for the accompanying plan of the site.

The hoard consists of the following coins:—

	No. of coins
1, 2. Edward III, Period 1351-1360	2
3. " Period 1369-1377	1
4-6. Henry IV, Light coinage (1412-1418)	3
7. Henry V (Early or Transitional)	1
8-20. " (Mullet issue)	13
21, 22. " (Mullet-Trefoil issue)	2
23. " (Annulet issue)	1
24-49. Henry VI (Annulet issue of London)	26
50. " (Annulet issue of Calais)	1
51-54. " (Annulet-Trefoil issue)	4
55. Flemish imitation of Annulet Noble	1
56, 57. Henry VI (Rosette issue)	2
58-63. " (Pinecone issue)	6
64. Forgery of period Edward III-Henry IV	1
Total	64

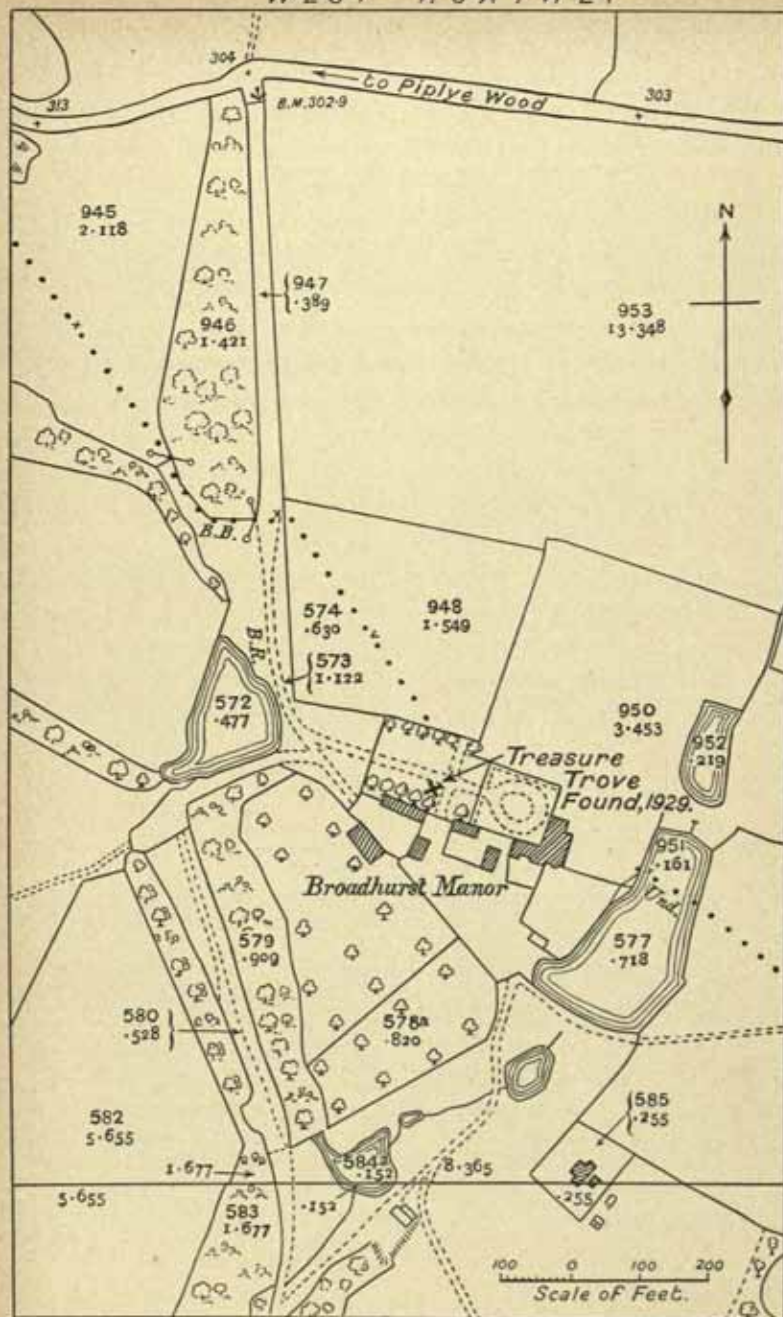
The bulk of the hoard is of the coinage of Henry V and of the earliest issue of Henry VI. The coins are

mostly in good condition, the latest very fine. The date of the burial depends upon the dates assigned to the three early issues of Henry VI, the Annulet, Rosette, and Pinecone coinages. Mr. Walters¹ gave the Annulet coinage a period of six years, and placed the Rosette-Mascle coinage in the years 1428-1435. But the very small variety, either in lettering or in symbols, that can be discovered on these coins makes it probable that they represent large issues struck in a short period of time, and the history of the Calais mint seems to conform to this. Calais gold of the Annulet issue is plentiful, but the gold issues of Calais were exhausted after the striking of a few, very few, nobles of the Rosette-Mascle issue; the silver of Calais continued to dominate the coinage. The Mint accounts show the gold of Calais dwindling down from nearly 3000 lb. in 1424-1428 to 361 lb. in 1428-1431; unfortunately the accounts for Calais during 1422-1424 are not available; in the Calais accounts of 1431-1433 there is no gold, but throughout the period 1424-1433 the output of silver at Calais was very high. The rare Rosette-Mascle nobles of Calais were therefore struck either before 1428 or quite early in that year², and the Pinecone-Mascle issue may reasonably be placed at approximately the year 1430.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 246.

² The accounts of the Castle Mint at York show an activity of twelve months from August, 1424. As the earliest coins of the Palace Mint yet known are Rosette-Mascle pennies, they were presumably struck after the closure of the king's mint (see *Num. Chron.*, 1926, p. 371) and therefore after the voidance of 1423-1425 had terminated in the appointment of John Kemp to the archbishopric.

WEST HOATHLY



Site $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles due S. of East Grinstead (based on the Ordnance Survey Map, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)

I should add that the coinage of the Archbishops of York presents a difficulty. Archbishop Henry Bowet died in October, 1423; Richard Fleming was appointed by the Pope in the February following but was not confirmed by the King, and John Kemp was consecrated in July 1425. He remained in the See of York until he was translated to Canterbury in 1452. York pennies of this reign, excepting those of the Royal Mint of 1423-1424 which are marked, like groats and other denominations, with the fleur-de-lis, all bear the episcopal quatrefoil on the reverse except some of the Pinecone-Mascle issue. I should not venture to place the Pinecone-Mascle issue so early as 1423-1425 in order to fit these coins to the York vacancy after Bowet's death: it certainly cannot be so late as the vacancy of 1452 caused by Kemp's translation.

It would therefore be safe to date the deposit of the hoard to the decade commencing 1425 and one may conjecture that it was buried very little before or after 1430.

The Flemish Noble (Pl. XXI. 4) is interesting in view of the frequent, and apparently fruitless, legislation at the end of the fourteenth century and at the beginning of the fifteenth against the importation of these foreign imitations. A petition presented by the Commons in the parliament of the second year of Henry IV (January, 1401, new style) recited that, in spite of the ordinance that foreign gold should be converted into bullion at Calais, nobles of Flanders were being imported into England "where they were current in such numbers that a man could not receive the sum of one hundred shillings [15 nobles] without

taking three or four such nobles of Flanders, each of them indeed worse and more feeble than the English noble by two pence."³ The weight of this specimen is 103 grains. Allowing 1 grain for loss of weight in circulation (the similar English nobles in the find vary between 106 and 107 $\frac{3}{4}$ grains with the majority at about 107 grains), this is a slightly greater deficiency than the twopence estimated in the petition to be the average of these Flemish nobles, twopence being one-fortieth of a noble weighing 120 grains, or 3 grains.

English forgery is illustrated by a coin (No. 64) weighing 105 grains, which imitates in roughest style the obverse of a noble of Edward III and the reverse of a Henry noble.

A detailed description of the coins is appended; dies of the nobles of Henry V are numbered for identification in a paper to be published shortly entitled "Privy Marks in the reign of Henry V".

G. C. BROOKE.

DESCRIPTION OF COINS.

EDWARD III.

PERIOD 1351-1360. SERIES E (1353-1355).

1. *Obv.* Ε/DWΤΑRD · DEI · GRΑ · REX · TIGLI · † ·
FRATIIQ · D · hV/B

Rev. + IHC · TVTΘM · TRWISIEHS · P · MEDIVM ·
ILLORVMIBTT

Letter R of latest type with extra stroke below tail. Lis in upper right quarter of reverse. Ornaments on ship:—Lis, Lion, 2 Lis, Lion, 2 Lis, Lion, Lis (lions to left). Ropes 3 and 3.

97·3 grs. clipped. Its dies closely resemble Aa and 53 of Mr. Lawrence's lists.

³ Ruding, i, p. 250.

PERIOD 1351-1360. SERIES G (1356-1361).

2. Legend mostly illegible (clipped away). *Obv.* Annulet stops, annulet at beginning of legend. *Rev.* Saltire stops. Lis in upper right quarter. Small Θ in centre. 103.4 grs. clipped. A coin from the same dies is in Mr. L. A. Lawrence's collection (*obv.* die AS, reverse with Θ and Θ unbroken and no annulet beside the terminal lis of the reverse cross).

PERIOD 1369-1377.

3. *Obv.* Θ DW/ARD: DI: GRN: REX: ANGL: F: FRTRQ: DRS: HIB: F: TQVIT

Annulet (not visible on this specimen) over ship's sail. Late style of ship and lettering. No flag.

- Rev.* + IHQ: AVTEM: TRANSIENS: PER: MEDIVM: ILLORVM: IBAT

Θ and pellet in centre. Ornaments on ship:—Lis, Lion, Lis, Lion, Lis, Lion, Lis (lions to right).

106.5 grs. clipped. A coin from the same obverse die was in the Eeckeren hoard (Dupriez sale, 13. xi. 23, lot 61) and is now in the British Museum.

HENRY IV.

LIGHT COINAGE (1412-1413).

4. *Obv.* Θ EN/RID: DI: GRN: REX: ANGL: F: FRTRQ: DRS: HIB: F: TQ

Annulet and slipped trefoil on side of ship. Turrets have ball ornaments. Ornaments on ship:—Lis, Lion, Lis, Lis, Lion, Lis (lions to right). Ropes 3 and 1.

- Rev.* + IHQ: AVTEM: TRANSIENS: PER: MEDIVM: ILLORVM: IBAT

In centre \mathfrak{h} and pellet. Slipped trefoil in upper right quarter.

105.5 grs. From same dies as Brit. Mus. coin ex Montagu sale, lot 478.

5. Similar, reading \mathfrak{h} T/Q. Slipped trefoil (no annulet) on side of ship.

On reverse **ILLORV**.

106.1 grs. From same obverse die as Brit. Mus. coin ex Bruun sale, lot 369.

6. *Obv.* **hENR/ID:GRN:RAX:TNGL:FRNRQ:
D:RIB:7/Q'**

Annulet and slipped trefoil on side of ship.

On reverse **ILLORV IB7T** (omitting stops). Slipped trefoil in lower right quarter. Turrets are battlemented. Ornaments on ship:—Lis, Lion, Lis, Lion, Lis (lions to right). Ropes 3 and 1.

106.4 grs. From same obverse die as Brit. Mus. coin ex Cassel sale (Glend. 3. xii. 24), lot 175.

HENRY V.

(The die-numbers refer to my paper on Privy Marks to be published in *Num. Chron.*, 1930.)

FIRST ISSUE.

New portrait, new style of lettering; reverse has initial cross with circular sinking in centre. Attributed by Mr. F. A. Walters to Henry IV (*Num. Chron.*, 1905, pp. 285–286).

7. *Obv.* **h/ENR/ID:DI:GRN:RAX:TNGL:FRNRQ:
DNR:hVB**

Quatrefoil over sail. Ropes 3 and 2. Ornaments:—Lion, Lis, Lis, Lion, Lis, Lis (lions to left). Turrets have ball ornaments.

- Rev.* + **hD:7VTEN:TR7RSIENS:PER:7EDIV:
ILLORV:IB7T**

Quatrefoil over lion's head in upper right quarter.

107.5 grs. Dies II 1 × II b; obverse die same as Bruun sale, lot 379, now in L. A. Lawrence coll. [Pl. XXI. 1].

SECOND ISSUE.

Mullet at sword-arm.

8. Similar legend, &c., to No. 7. **FRNRQ:DNR:hIB**

Broken annulet on side of ship; mullet by sword-arm.

106.4 grs. Dies V (b) 1 × V (e) b; same obverse as Brit. Mus. coin from Halsall find, 1922.

9. Similar. **DR'S***

107 grs. Dies V (b) 3 × V (g) a; same obverse as Brit. Mus. coin purchased in 1900.

10. *Obv.* As preceding, **DRS:hyB**

Rev. As preceding. **Ih'Q***

107.1 grs. Dies V (d) 1 × V (g) c; obverse same as Brit. Mus. coin from Evans coll. found in 1886 at Pontoux lès Forges.

11. *Obv.* As preceding, **DR'S***

Rev. As preceding. **Ih'Q*** This, like the B.M. coin from same obverse die, has Q reversed instead of D in *Medium*.

106.1 grs. Dies V (m) 4 × V (r) a; obverse same as Brit. Mus. coin from the Longney find, 1875.

12, 13, 14. Similar. Three coins from one obverse die. **DR'S***

106.8, 107.8, 106.3 grs. Dies V (k, l) 1 × V (j) a, V (k) a, V (l) b.

15-20. Similar. Six coins from different dies; four read **DRS:**, one reads **DR'S***, the sixth is doubtful.

107.8, 106.6, 105.9, 106.8, 106.9, 105.5 grs. Dies V (k, l) 2 × V (p) a, V (m) 1 × V (l) d, V (m) 2 × V (l) e, V (m) 3 × V (l) f, V (o) 2 × V (s) b, V (s) 1 × V (t) a.
[Pl. XXI. 2 (dies V (s) 1 × V (t) a)].

THIRD ISSUE.

Mullet and annulet either side of wrist; broken annulet on side of ship; trefoil of pellets between shield and forecastle. Ship ornaments as before and ropes 3 and 2.

21. Legends as on preceding coins; reverse as preceding coins, without additional trefoil or pellet in either quarter.

106.2 grs. Dies VI 4 × VI c.

22. Similar, but with pellet at sword-point, annulet unbroken on ship's side.

106.6 grs. Dies VII (b) 2 × VI e.

MULE.

With obverse of fourth (Annulet) issue and reverse of third (Trefoil) issue.

23. *Obv.* h/ENRIC'·DI'·GRN'·REX·ANGL'·ƿ·FRANC'·
DNR·hVB'

No mark over the sail or on the field of the coin. Ropes 2 and 1. Ornaments on ship:—Lion, Lis, Lis, Lion, Lis (lions to left). Ball ornaments on turrets. The mullet after the first word is punched over an annulet.

Rev. As on preceding coin, but with quatrefoil over lion's head in upper right quarter and trefoil of pellets over lion's tail in upper left quarter.

107·8 grs. (double-struck, reverse worse than obverse). Dies IX 1 × VIII f., same obverse as Bruun sale, 1925, lot 388. [Pl. XXI. 3.]

HENRY VI.

ANNULET ISSUE.

Obv. h/ENRIC'·DI'·GRN'·REX·ANGL'·ƿ·FRANC'·DNR·S·hVB'

Annulet at sword-arm. Ropes 2 and 1. Ship's ornaments:—Lis, Lion, Lis, Lion, Lis (lions to left). Ball ornaments on turrets.

Rev. (i. m. Lis) IH'·Q·KVT'·TRNSIENS·PER·
MEDIVM·ILLORV'·IBTT

Star after first word; annulet after every other except *Ibat*. Annulet in spandrel below IH'·Q.

24. 107·0 grs. From same dies as a coin in Brit. Mus. (provenance not known).

25. 107·3 grs. From same obverse die as a coin in Brit. Mus. (provenance not known).

26, 27, 28. 107·2, 106·9, 106·7 grs. Three coins from the same obverse die.

29, 30. 107·2, 106·9 grs. Two coins from the same obverse die.

31, 32. 106·8, 105·8 grs. Two coins from the same obverse die.

33-49. 107·7, 107·6 (3), 107·5 (2), 107·4, 107·3, 107·2 (3), 107·0, 106·7 (2), 106·6, 106·5, 106·4 grs. All from different dies. One coin (107·6 grs.) has a trefoil instead of a fleur-de-lis after the word *Henric*.

PINECONE ISSUE.

58, 59. *Obv.* HERRIC · DI · GRA · REX · ANGL · S ·
 RRRRDDNS · hVB

Rev. + IRU' · AVT' · TRRNDIES (sic) · PAR ·
 MEDIVM · ILLORVM · IBTT

Lis in upper right quarter.

108-0, 107-5 grs. Two coins from the same dies.

60, 61. Similar, TRRNDIERS

107-4, 107-0 grs. Two coins from different dies.

No. 60 has a mascle punched over the pine-cone after *Illorum*, and pine-cone instead of mascle after *Per*.

[Pl. XXI. 6.]

62, 63. Similar, hIB. No pine-cone between last two words of reverse.

107-1, 107-7 grs. Two coins from the same dies as coin in Brit. Mus. purchased in 1900.

CONTEMPORARY FORGERY.

64. *Obv.* [H]DWARRD · DEI · GRA · REX · ANGL · DNS ·
 hVB

Very clumsy work.

Rev. + IRU' · AVT' · TRRNSIERS · PAR · MEDIV ·
 ILLOR · TT (sic)

h in centre of reverse. Lis over lion's head in upper left quarter. h in centre.

105-0 grs.

XII.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ZODIACAL COINS OF JAHĀNGĪR.

THE classes and varieties of numismatic records to which the collector in India can devote special attention are exceedingly numerous. Perhaps none have aroused such general and long-continued interest as the picturesque mintages exhibiting the signs of the Zodiac, which were struck in pursuance of a whim of the emperor Jahāngir. These coins appear from very early times to have been used as amulets or talismans. Romantic stories about their origin and virtues have been told and can be still heard among the common people, and it is clear from the pages of Tavernier that they had become the subject of a folk-tale less than fifty years after the death of the emperor. This traveller informs us that they had become very rare even in his day, and "two or three specimens in gold were", he writes, "so hard to be got that an hundred crowns have been paid for one of them" (*Travels*, translated by Philips, 1678, part II, p. 11).

This rarity has naturally led to the multiplication of forgeries, and one of the most successful of collectors declared only fifty years ago that there were at least "three separate sets of imitations" of varying degrees of crudity, and even warned his readers that among the gold there were at least twenty imitations to one real coin. His experience further led him to assert that several of the specimens in gold were struck

from silver dies and vice versa. The net result of his researches for many years was to force him to the conclusion that, "with one or two exceptions the genuine gold mohars were all struck at Agra and the silver rupees at Ahmadabad" (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 1878, p. 155). A very similar verdict has been pronounced in our own times by Mr. Whitehead, who says that "with the exception of a very few rare pieces—from half a dozen other mints, Jahāngīr's zodiacal mohars issued from Āgra and his Zodiacal rupees from Aḥmadābād" (*P.M.C.*, Introd. xxxv). Strictly interpreted these words must mean that the three Agra rupees registered by Mr. Lane-Poole (*B.M.C.*, *Moghul Empire*, 366, 367, and 375) are not above suspicion, as they do not belong to Ahmadabad. Indeed, Mr. Gibbs had so early as 1878 expressed the opinion that the last of the three, No. 375—the Agra Capricornus of A.H. 1029–XIV—had been struck from gold dies (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 1878, p. 160 n. 2), and he was inclined to take the same view of the Agra Scorpio which was in his own cabinet.

But is there no test or criterion by which the genuine coin can be distinguished from the imitation? Mr. Gibbs declares that there is none except the workmanship, the artistic perfection and accuracy of the figures, and the lettering, or, as he puts it, "the fineness and accuracy of the engraving" (*ibid.*, p. 157). The aesthetic sense is not, however, a universal gift among mortals in general or numismatists in particular. Mr. Lane-Poole also confesses that there is often "considerable difficulty in distinguishing the imitation from the genuine mohrs, and numismatists are frequently found to differ in their opinions" (*B.M.C.*, *Moghul Empire*, lxxxiv).

To give a few instances, Mr. Gibbs was convinced that the Sagittarius of 1035-XX in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, was "very poor work and its writing so stiff that it could not possibly be of the original set" (*Proc. A.S.B.*, 1883, pp. 5-6).

On the other hand, Mr. Whitehead has thought this identical coin worthy of a full description, and would appear from his silence to discountenance any doubts as to its genuineness (*P.M.C.*, p. ciii). Again, Mr. Gibbs thought that all the three Aquarius coins in the British Museum were "very poor", and he had no hesitation in declaring that the one showing "an old man seated pouring water over his shoulder" was "not a genuine coin" (*Proc. A.S.B.*, 1883, p. 6). On the other hand, all that Mr. Lane-Poole has to say about this last (*B.M.C.* 356) is that it is "rude work", and he seems to have regarded the other two (Nos. 355 and 357) as perfectly in order.

The following mohurs of Agra are all reckoned as genuine, and registered without remarks by Mr. Lane-Poole or Mr. Nelson Wright:

		No.	A. H.	Regnal year.	Type.
I.	<i>I.M.C.</i>	575	1030	XVI	Gemini.
II.	<i>B.M.C.</i>	339	1030	XVI	Virgo.
III.	"	343	1030	XVI	Libra.
IV.	"	331	1031	XVI	Gemini.
V.	"	340	1031	XVI	Virgo.
VI.	<i>I.M.C.</i>	579	1031	XVI	Libra.

It must be obvious to any one possessing an elementary knowledge of chronology that these Hijrī dates and regnal years cannot both be correct. There is no doubt that the 16th year of Jahāngīr's reign began on 27 IV 1030, and it is clear that if the regnal year

and Zodiacal constellation stamped on the three first coins are in accord, as they should be, with the Hijrī year inscribed upon them, those on the second three cannot possibly tally one with the other, and must be errors—errors so patent and glaring as to raise a fair presumption against the genuineness of the coins themselves.

A casual glance at the list of imitations is sufficient to show that the date equations on some of them also are manifestly impossible. Every one who knows anything of the Zodiacal series is familiar with the fact that it was inaugurated in the 13th regnal year of Jahāngīr, which corresponded to A.H. 1027, and yet the Agra Scorpio in the British Museum (No. 380) exhibits the dates 1028-XII! Another (No. 381) showing 1033-XVII is as evidently wrong, and the same observation applies to Nos. 391 (1029-XVI), 393, 394, and 398 (1033-XVII), and 397 (1028-XII).

In these circumstances it was natural to suspect that there might be other mistakes which were not so easily perceptible, and in the hope of discovering one test which might prove helpful in the detection of some at least of the imitations, I was led to prepare two tables of Hijrī-Julūs synchronisms for all the months of the last ten years of Jahāngīr's reign.

In this connexion it is perhaps necessary to say that the tables have been compiled on the basis of the "Lā wa Lā, Lāb Lā wa Lā lā" formula, and that the number of days assigned to each month is as under: Farwardīn 31; Ardibihisht 31; Khurdād 32; Tir 31; Amardād 31; Shahrewar 31; Mihr 30; Ābān 30; Ādhar 29; Dī 29; Bahman 30; Isfandārmuz 30.

It may be added that the initial days of the regnal

years have been taken from the sixth volume of Elliot's *History of India* (see also *I.M.C.*, iii. 357), and that, for the reasons explained in my *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics* (pp. 37-8), there is sometimes the difference of one day and occasionally of two in the reckoning.

Let us now see if these tables are of any use. The British Museum contains altogether four mohurs with the sign "Gemini":

No. 330	1029-XV	No. 333	1033-XIX
No. 332	1032-XVIII	No. 331	1031-XVI

It is clear that if the three first are in serial order the date on the fourth must be wrong. A reference to the table leaves no doubt that this is so. The 16th year of Jahāngīr began on 27 IV 1030, and *Khurdād* (Gemini) XVI on 1 VII 1030, not 1031. Indeed, *I.M.C.* Gemini of 1030-XVI (No. 575) has the right dates.

Now we have in this instance a good case where what is artistically dubious can be condemned on chronological grounds also. Mr. Lane-Poole notes that the twins in this specimen are "smaller than usual, differently posed and brandishing one a mace and the other a pair of weights".

B.M.C. No. 340 must for similar reasons be placed in the doubtful class. Of the four Virgo mohurs in that collection No. 338 is of 1028-XIV, and No. 339 is of 1030-XVI; but No. 340 is also of 1031-XVI; No. 341 is of 1033-XIX.

It is plain that if No. 339 is right, No. 340 must be wrong, or vice versa. The table shows that *Shahrewar* (Virgo) XVI began on 6 X 1030 and ended on 7 XI 1030.

Here again the chronological evidence would seem to be helpful in arriving at some determination in regard to the genuineness of the piece.

The figure of Virgo on this coin, remarks Mr. Lane-Poole (*op. cit.*, p. lxxxiii), is unlike either "the traditional winged figure or the typical Indian figure of a squatting woman with a braid of hair down her back" which is found on the other genuine muhrs.

Indeed, Mr. Gibbs was of opinion that it was not a Virgo at all but a female Aquarius. He was sure that the figure was "carrying two *haṇḍis* on the head, one above the other, just as the women carry them now" (*op. cit.*, p. 158). The table would seem to show that there is something to be said for this suggestion of which Mr. Gibbs was not aware. The fact is that, if the figure is really an Aquarius, the coin would be chronologically unexceptionable. The first day of Bahman (Aquarius) XVI began on 7 III 1031 and ended on 6 IV 1031. The coin, which leaves much to be desired from the epigraphical point of view, may well be a copy of an Aquarius of which no genuine specimen is so far known.

Let us now take No. 350. It is of Capricornus 1028-XIV. It will be noticed that the coin immediately next in the list (No. 351) is of the same sign and regnal year, but the year is 1029. Now the table shows that Dī (Capricornus) XIV began on the 15th Muḥarram 1029. No. 351 is therefore correct, and No. 350 is wrongly dated but, as it was issued within a fortnight of the end of 1023, the possibility of an engraver's error in the date is not excluded.

No. 356 (1032-XVIII) is another coin which illustrates the value of the chronological test. Its rude work

did not escape the vigilant eye of Mr. Lane-Poole and aroused his suspicions, but he was not sure that it was a forgery. The table would appear to condemn the piece, for Bahman (Aquarius) XVIII began only on 30 III 1033, i.e. 88 days after the expiration of the 1032nd year of the Hijra. It may be noted that the other Aquarius, which immediately precedes it (No. 355), is of 1031-XVI, and correct according to the table, but it can hardly be accepted on epigraphical grounds.

Lastly, No. 359 is a Pisces of 1031-XVII. Now Isfandārmuz (Pisces) XVII began only on 19 IV 1032—100 days after the 1031st year of the Hijra had come to an end. The coin must therefore be suspect. Here again it may be worth while to point out that the immediately following coin of the same sign (No. 360) shows 1033-XVIII, and is in order, as well as No. 358 which has the date 1028-XIII. All this is plain sailing, but the same can hardly be said of the gold Scorpio (No. 346 a) of 1030-XVI. Mr. Lane-Poole had doubts about its genuineness, but thought it possible that it was a trial-piece of Jahāngīr's own time, or at the worst a contemporary imitation (p. lxxxiii). Now the table shows that Ābān (Scorpio) XVI began on 8 XII 1030 and ended on 7 I 1031. It is quite possible that the coin was struck on one or other of the last 23 days of A.H. 1030. It is true that the other mohur of the same sign and Hijrī year is of very different design. In other words, it is just on the margin and may be genuine, but I must leave the matter here and let final judgement be pronounced by those more conversant with the aesthetic aspect of the matter.

Besides the Zodiacal issues of Agra and Ahmadabad, the following coins of Ajmīr, Fathpur, Kashmīr, Lahore, and Urdū have also been published:

N	Ajmīr	Aquarius	1032-XVIII	(Cabinet de France, P.M.C., xxx)
N	"	Cancer	1034-XX	(Gibbs, B.B.R.A.S., 1878, P.M.C., xxx)
N	Fathpur	Aries	1030-XX	(<i>ibid.</i> , P.M.C., xc)
R	"	"	1030-	"
R	"	Capricornus	1028-XIV	(Rodgers, J.A.S.B., 1888; P.M.C., xc)
N	Kashmīr	Cancer	1034-XX	(Da Cunha Catalogue; P.M.C., xciii)
R	"	Gemini	-XV	(I.M.C., No. 696; White King Cat., 3691)
N	Lahore	Sagittarius	1035-XX	(Cabinet de France, P.M.C., cii)
N	"	"	1036-XXI	(Gotha, Moeller, De Num. Or., Goth. No. cclxxix)
N	Urdū	Aries	1036-XXII	(H. N. Wright, N.S., i)

It may be a mere coincidence, but it is not unworthy of notice, that all these nine coins claim to have been struck at places which the emperor is known to have visited at some time or other during his reign. It remains, however, to ascertain from his autobiography and other contemporary chronicles whether he was in the particular town during the month and year in which the coin itself was issued. We have also to see if the regnal year, Hijrī date, and Zodiacal sign are in accord.

Mr. Gibbs was of opinion that the Ajmīr Aquarius 1032-XVIII in the Cabinet de France was an imitation. Now this opinion receives considerable support from

TABLE I.

	1 Muhar- ram	1 Safar	1 Rabī' I	1 Rabī' II	Jumādā I	Jumādā II	Rajab	Sha'bān	Ramadhān	Shawwāl	Dhu'l-Qa'da	Dhu'l-Hijja
1026												
1027	10 Dī XII	10 Bahman XII	9 Isfān, XII	9 Farw. XIII	7 Ardīb, XIII	6 Khord. XIII	3 Tir XIII	2 Amār. XIII	31 Amār. XIII	30 Shahr. XIII	28 Mīhr XIII	28 Ābān XIII
1028	28 Ādhar XIII	29 Dī XIII	29 Bahman XIII	29 Isfān, XIII	27 Farw. XIV	26 Ardīb, XIV	24 Khord. XIV	22 Tir XIV	20 Amār. XIV	19 Shahr. XIV	17 Mīhr XIV	17 Ābān XIV
1029	16 Ādhar XIV	17 Dī XIV	17 Bahman XIV	17 Isfān, XIV	16 Farw. XV	15 Ardīb, XV	13 Khord. XV	11 Tir XV	9 Amār. XV	8 Shahr. XV	6 Mīhr XV	6 Ābān XV
1030	5 Ādhar XV	6 Dī XV	6 Bahman XV	6 Isfān, XV	4 Farw. XVI	3 Ardīb, XVI	1 Khord. XVI	31 Khord. XVI	29 Tir XVI	27 Amār. XVI	25 Shahr. XVI	24 Mīhr XVI
1031	24 Ābān XVI	24 Ādhar XVI	24 Dī XVI	25 Bahman XVI	24 Isfān, XVI	23 Farw. XVII	21 Ardīb, XVII	20 Khord. XVII	17 Tir XVII	16 Amār. XVII	14 Shahr. XVII	13 Mīhr XVII
1032	12 Ābān XVII	12 Ādhar XVII	12 Dī XVII	13 Bahman XVII	12 Isfān, XVII	12 Farw. XVIII	10 Ardīb, XVIII	9 Khord. XVIII	6 Tir XVIII	5 Amār. XVIII	3 Shahr. XVIII	2 Mīhr XVIII
1033	1 Ābān XVIII	1 Ādhar XVIII	1 Dī XVIII	9 Bahman XVIII	1 Isfān, XVIII	3 Farw. XIX	1 Ardīb, XIX	31 Ardīb, XIX	29 Khord. XIX	27 Tir XIX	25 Amār. XIX	24 Shahr. XIX
1034	29 Mīhr XIX	29 Ābān XIX	29 Ādhar XIX	29 Dī XIX	28 Bahman XIX	23 Isfān, XIX	21 Farw. XX	20 Ardīb, XX	18 Khord. XX	16 Tir XX	14 Amār. XX	13 Shahr. XX
1035	11 Mīhr XX	11 Ābān XX	10 Ādhar XX	11 Dī XX	11 Bahman XX	11 Isfān, XX	10 Farw. XXI	9 Ardīb, XXI	7 Khord. XXI	5 Tir XXI	3 Amār. XXI	2 Shahr. XXI
1036	31 Shahr. XXI	30 Mīhr XXI	29 Ābān XXI	29 Ādhar XXI	29 Dī XXI	30 Bahman XXI	29 Isfān, XXI	29 Farw. XXII	27 Ardīb, XXII	26 Khord. XXII	23 Tir XXII	22 Amār. XXII
1037	21 Shahr. XXII	20 Mīhr XXII			19 Dī	20 Bahman	19 Isfān.					

TABLE II.

Julian year	Farwardin Aries	Ardibehisht Taurus	Khordad Gemini	Tir Cancer	Anardad Leo	Shah-rawar Virgo	Mihir Libra	Ābān Scorpio	Ādhar Sagittarius	Di Capricornus	Bahman Aquarius	Isfandarmuz Pisces
XIII	23 III 1027 Hija	24 IV 27	26 V 27	28 VI 27	30 VII 27	2 IX 27	3 X 27	4 XI 27	4 XII 27	3 I 28 *	2 II 28 *	3 III 28 *
XIV	4 IV 28	6 V 28	7 VI 28	10 VII 28	11 VIII 28	13 IX 28	14 X 28	15 XI 28	15 XII 28	15 I 29 *	14 II 29 *	15 III 29 *
XV	15 IV 29	17 V 29	18 VI 29	21 VII 29	22 VIII 29	24 IX 29	25 X 29	26 XI 29	26 XII 29	26 I 30 *	25 II 30 *	26 III 30 *
XVI	27 IV 30	29 V 30	1 VII 30	3 VIII 30	5 IX 30	6 X 30	8 XI 30	8 XII 30	8 I 31 *	7 II 31 *	7 III 31 *	7 IV 31 *
XVII	9 V 31	10 VI 31	12 VII 31	14 VIII 31	16 IX 31	17 X 31	19 XI 31	19 XII 31	20 I 32 *	19 II 32 *	19 III 32 *	19 IV 32 *
XVIII	20 V 32	21 VI 32	23 VII 32	25 VIII 32	27 IX 32	28 X 32	30 XI 32	1 I 33 *	1 II 33 *	1 III 33 *	30 III 33 *	1 V 33 *
XIX	29 V 33	1 VII 33	2 VIII 33	5 IX 33	6 X 33	8 XI 33	9 XII 33	9 I 34 *	9 II 34 *	9 III 34 *	9 IV 34 *	9 V 34 *
XX	10 VI 34	12 VII 34	13 VIII 34	16 IX 34	17 X 34	19 XI 34	20 XII 34	21 I 35 *	21 II 35 *	21 III 35 *	20 IV 35 *	21 V 35 *
XXI	21 VI 35	23 VII 35	24 VIII 35	27 IX 35	28 X 35	30 XI 35	2 I 36 *	2 II 36 *	2 III 36 *	2 IV 36 *	2 V 36 *	2 VI 36 *
XXII	3 VII 36	4 VIII 36	6 IX 36	8 X 36	10 XI 36	11 XII 36	12 I 37 *	12 II 37 *	13 III 37 *	12 IV 37 *	12 V 37 *	12 VI 37 *

the table as Bahman (Aquarius) XVIII began only on 30 III 1033. The significant fact may also be noted that Jahāngīr was not at Ajmīr at the time. He tells us himself that he arrived there on 9th Khurdād XVIII = 19 Rajab A.H. 1032 (*Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, trans. Beveridge, ii, p. 261), and left it for Kashmīr on 2 Ādhar of the same Julūs year = 1 Šafar, A.H. 1033 (*Tūzuk*, ii, p. 282), i. e. about two months before the 1st day of Bahman (Aquarius) XVIII.

Mr. Gibbs says that Col. Guthrie had an Aries (Farwardīn) mohur, as well as an Aries rupee of Fathpur of the Hijrī year 1030. These are evidently the coins from the Guthrie collection now in Berlin and actually dated 1028-XIV. We know that Jahāngīr was obliged to have his camp at Fathpur for seven months on account of the prevalence of plague in Agra at the time. He pitched his tents on the bank of the lake of Fathpur on the 19th Dī XIII and entered Fathpur on the 28th Dī XIII and remained there up to the 31st Farwardīn (Aries) XIV (*Tūzuk*, ii, pp. 67-8), so that these coins were struck in the last month of his stay there. Mr. Rodgers published in the *J.A.S.B.*, 1888, p. 26, a couplet on a Capricornus rupee of Fathpur of 1028-XIV, "from an imprint made by General Cunningham in Lucknow in 1840". (See also Whitehead *P.M.C.*, p. xc.) Now a reference to Table II shows that the combination Capricornus (Dī) 1028-XIV is impossible. If the Hijrī year on this coin is right, the Julūs year is wrong, and if the Julūs year is correctly given, the Hijrī date must be an error. In the circumstances it is difficult to say anything confidently. I am inclined however to conjecture that Rodgers had only an impression of the couplet side and that his or

Cunningham's memory was at fault about the type, which was really an Aries and not a Capricorn. In this case there is no difficulty.

The Gemini rupees of Kashmīr in the Indian Museum and the White King Collection have the Julūs year XV. Now we know that the emperor was in the valley at the time, having entered Śrīnagar on 10th Farwardīn XV, and turned his face homewards on 27th Mihr of that year (*Tūzuk*, ii, pp. 135, 177). I do not think it has been noticed that the mint-master who was responsible for striking this rupee has pressed into his service the old couplet of an ordinary Ajmīr rupee of 1023-IX (*P.M.C.*, No. 920), changing only the name of the town, as Ajmīr and Kashmīr are metrically of the same value.

A Cancer moḥur of 1034-XX with the Nūr Jahān couplet was in the Da Cunha Collection (lot 615) and the name of the mint was read as Kashmīr. Now Mr. Gibbs has described a coin exactly similar to it in all respects—Julūs year, Hijrī date, and Zodiacal sign—but he read the mint as Ajmīr. We know that Jahāngīr was at this time in Kashmīr and not in Ajmīr. He tells us that he left Ajmīr for Kashmīr on 2 Ādhar XVIII 1 II 1033 (Nov. 14, 1623), and stayed there till Dhu'l-Hijja 1034 = Shahrewar-Mihr XX (Sept. 16, 1625) (*Tūzuk*). Mr. Gibbs's coin is figured in the *J.B.B.R.A.S.* 1878, Pl. III. 4 III, but the illustration is an indifferent one. The last three letters only of the mint-name are clear, and it is difficult to say what the other two are. It is scarcely likely that two coins of such rarity and so exactly alike should have been struck at the same time in two different places, and the fact that the Imperial Court was at Kashmīr in Tīr (Cancer) XX

leads us to decide in favour of the reading given in the Da Cunha Catalogue.

Among the Zodiacal issues of Lahore are the Aquarius (Oxford) and Sagittarius (Ādhar) of 1035-XX (Paris) and 1036-XXI (Gotha), and a Pisces (Isfandārmuz) mohur of 1036-XXI in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. All the three elements of the date on the second coin will be found to be correct on a reference to the table, as 1 Ādhar (Sagittarius) XX corresponded to 21 Šafar 1035. In this instance also it is useful to note that the emperor was in residence in Lahore at the time. He arrived there on or about the 29th Šafar 1035 (Muḥammad Ḥādī, continuation of *Tūzūk*, p. 399, l. 7) or 3rd Ādhar, according to the *Iḳbāl-nāma*, stayed there up to the 16th of Isfandārmuz and left for Kābul on the 17th (*ibid.*, p. 400, l. 9). He returned from Kābul on 7th Ābān and left it for Kashmīr on 21st Isfandārmuz. The two coins of XXI were struck during his stay in Lahore from 7th Ābān to 21 Isfandārmuz XXI.

The silver Lahore Aquarius in Oxford of 1035-XX, of which Mr. Allan has sent me a description, is an interesting coin and the tables enable us to settle what the type is. It represents a female figure holding an uncertain object in either arm, which it has been suggested are infants and the type has been called Gemini. Now Gemini 1035-XX is an impossible combination (Table II). The only possible signs for 1035-XX are Scorpio to Pisces; in these there is only one human figure, Aquarius. The type is, therefore, Aquarius holding two water-jars; the water pouring from them is what has been taken for the long clothes of the supposed infant Gemini. Mr. Gibbs said that he had seen women carrying two *handīs* on the head. A woman carrying

two such vessels under the arms is an equally common sight in India where, as Gibbs (p. 159) observes, women are the principal water-carriers. The sign Aquarius appears to have given the die-engravers a lot of trouble and they seem to have tried several experiments in connexion with it (cf. above, p. 301). This coin may be a new design—a proof in silver—which was submitted for the approval of the emperor by one of the court artists

Lastly, there is the Aries mohur of Urdū mint of 1036-XXII, formerly in the cabinet of Mr. H. Nelson Wright, and now in the British Museum. The table shows that the date-expression is perfectly correct, but since Mr. Nelson Wright (*J.A.S.B.*, 1904, *N.S.* § 4) says that he was not "able to ascertain where Jahāngir actually was" at the time it may be worth while to point out that, according to the continuation of the *Tūzūk* compiled by Muḥammad Ḥādī, he left Lahore for Kābul on 17 Isfandārmuz XX, 1035 (Sayyad Ahmad's Aligarh text, p. 400, l. 9); entered Kābul on 10 Ardibihesht XXI (*ibid.*, p. 408, l. 9); left Kābul on 1 *Shahrewar* XXI (*ibid.*, p. 410, l. 12); entered Lahore on 7 Ābān XXI (*ibid.*, p. 412, l. 10); started for Kashmīr on 21 Isfandārmuz XXI (*ibid.*, p. 419, l. 15); and celebrated the *Nauroz* of the 22nd year on the banks of the Chenāb (*ibid.*, p. 418, l. 8 from foot). In other words, there can be no doubt that he was in camp or Urdū on the route to Kashmīr on the first day of Farwardin XXII. Indeed all the coins of the rarer mints seem to have been struck while the Emperor was staying in the town in question.

S. H. HODIVALA.

¹ G. Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Coll.*, ii, p. 235, Pl. XLV. 14, cf. *id.*, *Coin types*, pp. 166-7; Waddington-Babelon-Reinach, *Recueil Gén. d. Monn. gr. d'Asie M.*, i. 1 (1904), p. 168, Nos. 60, 61; Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. Münzen*, pp. 65 sqq., Taf. V, 14, 15 = *Abh. d. K. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1 cl., xviii Bd., iii Abth., pp. 589 sqq.; cf. *id.*, *Zeitsch. für Num.*, xx, p. 270 sqq., for ἀρχαία = ἀρχαίοπολις or ἀρχαιοτάτη.

- (1) The Hunterian specimen.

Obv. ΑΥΤΜΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ: Head of Caracalla, laureate, cuirassed, right.

Rev. ΑΡΧΕΟ | ΠΑΦΛΑ | ΓΑΝΓΡΑ: a dotted border surrounds the field.

On the left, shown in section, is the City Wall, to which is attached, at a slightly lower level, a three-story tower, built with ashlar, arranged in headers and stretchers. The top story of the tower has a flat roof and two side-windows; the lower story has one big side-window, and is separated from the top story by a considerable space, as if to indicate that the tower was vaulted at this stage. The ground floor has a doorway, ornamented with pilasters and pediment, which is made to project, in impossible fashion, from the front of the tower. In the Berlin piece, the corresponding door is confined within the limits of the tower, and the maker of the Hunterian die seems to have managed his space badly. Both specimens, however, exhibit the peculiar treatment by which the Wall is shown higher than the left-hand tower; and on both the other tower is not so treated, but is bigger and better. It may therefore be suspected that this oddness is not due to clumsiness of treatment, but to a desire to indicate that the left-hand tower is shown in perspective. This view seems confirmed by the fact that the back of the Wall is shown returning towards the centre of the coin in sharp perspective, reduced, in the Berlin example, to an unintelligent criss-cross (by placing the joints of the masonry at right angles to the coursing, which is in perspective). The Wall then vanishes behind two central buildings, and it does not appear again until the right side of the picture is reached. At this point there appears a two-story tower, crowned by a flat roof and merlons. The top stage has two windows, and is separated from the ground floor by a space large enough to suggest a vault. In the ground floor there is a doorway, pushed far forward to the front of the tower, as on its companion. It is clear, then, that the position of the doorways is not accidental. But, as the engraver must have known, it is architectonically impossible. If the doors are sally-ports, they must have been situated next to the curtain-wall, and not at the outer edge of the tower. But, in fact, they are altogether too elaborate for sally-ports. So the intention of the engraver must have been to indicate that the towers embodied single, but somewhat ornate,

gates, as on Trajan's Column, and as in many surviving examples. It is, however, not easy to be sure whether the artist is representing the common quadrangular type, or the much rarer circular form.

The buildings between the two towers are less clear. But they are not gates. They form a separate block, disconnected from the Wall, which is shown going round behind them. Nor are they crowned with battlements. They both have a steeply-pitched overhanging roof. The left-hand building is the taller, while the right-hand one has attached to its left side a lower, lean-to building, with tiled roof. The two groups are separated by a narrow alley.

What is this group of buildings, chosen to represent the town of which they formed an ornament? Clearly public buildings, yet not a temple; and hardly, it may be thought, baths, which are habitually represented in convention with apses. Perhaps, then, the Forum, shown in section, with a low colonnade round it, and shops or offices towards the front, built as a higher range, to the right. Then, separated by an alley, comes the taller building to the left, which would be a Basilica. This would give us the normal Roman plan for the Forum of a small town like those of our own Silchester and Caerwent.

(2) The Berlin example.

Obv. ANTΩNI[: Caracalla's head, laureate, cuirassed, left.

Rev. APX | ΠΑΦ | ΓΑΝΓΡΩΝ :

The view is similar to that already described, but is much less finely executed. Lack of width induces crowding, and an increase in height. In both towers the gates occupy too much space. The wall in perspective is more sharply defined, but, as we have seen, badly drawn. The engraver has also misunderstood the roofs of the buildings inside the town. Clearly the Berlin example is an unintelligent copy of the Hunterian type.

I. A. RICHMOND.



TELESPHOROS.

THE quaint little figure of Telesphoros, which was a favourite coin-type, especially in north-western Asia Minor, in early Imperial times, has such an un-Greek look that it has provoked many theories as to its origin. It occurred to me some time ago that the figure bears a close resemblance to a grain of corn; and the idea that it might be derived from this was strengthened when I came upon a passage in one of Richard Jefferies' essays which expresses the point so clearly that it may be quoted in full. It is in "Walks in the Wheatfields" (*Field and Hedgerow*, 1889).

"If you will look at a grain of wheat you will see that it seems folded up; it has crossed its arms and rolled itself up in a cloak, a fold of which forms a groove, and so gone to sleep. If you look at it some time . . . you can almost trace a miniature human being in the oval of the grain. It is narrow at the top, where the head would be, and broad across the shoulders, and narrow again towards the feet."

It seems reasonable to suppose that some ancient artist saw, as Jefferies did, the human likeness in the grain, and created from it the type of Telesphoros. It does not fall within the scope of this note on the origin of the type to enquire how this corn-sprite came to be associated with Asklepios and Hygieia, but it may be remarked that Telesphoros was an epithet of Gaia (see Roscher, *s. v.*).

As an example for illustration it is perhaps most fitting to take a coin from a town specially famous for its corn—Eresos.

J. G. M.

HOARDS OF ROMAN COINS.

NEWBIGGIN.

THE opportunity has been given to the British Museum of recording part of a hoard of denarii which is said to have been found several hundred years ago near Newbiggin in Cumberland.

A detailed list of the coins follows, with reference to Cohen (C.), *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*, 2nd edition, 1880-1892:

- Vespasian* 3. C. 144, 366 (2).
Trajan 17. C. 69, 76 (2—but no shields on rev.), 77 (but rev. Victory advancing l. over shields), 84, 85 (2—but A), 87, 203, 228, 270 (2), 278, 302 (2), 314, 402.
Hadrian 20. C. 138, 315, 337, 341, 349, 380, 395, 600, 724, 905, 963, 1012, 1027, 1120, 1153, 1204, 1353, 1477, 1481 (but *obv.* laureate r.), and a coin not described by C.:
Obv.—IMP. CAESAR TRAIAN. HADRIANVS AVG. Bust, laureate r., with drapery on l. shoulder.
Rev.—FELIC. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae.
Antoninus Pius 13. C. 154, 196, 199, 218, 270, 280, 383 (but *obv.* head to l.), 490 (2), 519, 582 (but *rev.* Pax holds sceptre), 859, 1038.
Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius 2. C. 15 and a coin not described by C.:
Obv.—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. Head, bare r.
Rev.—AVRELIVS CAES. AVG. PII F. COS. Head, bare l.
Faustina the Elder 6. C. 26, 96, 119, 120, 124, 175.
Marcus Aurelius 6. C. 110, 130, 254 (but *obv.* laureate, cuirassed r.), 663, 938, 1036.
Severus Alexander 1. C. 229.

The coins were distributed over reigns as follows:

Vespasian.	.	.	.	.	3
Trajan	.	.	.	.	17
Hadrian	.	.	.	.	20
Antoninus Pius	.	.	.	.	13
„ and Marcus Aurelius	.	.	.	.	2
Faustina I	.	.	.	.	6
Marcus Aurelius	.	.	.	.	6
Severus Alexander	.	.	.	.	1
					<hr/> 68

If, as seems probable, the denarius of Severus Alexander (date A. D. 223) is an intruder, the latest coin is that of Marcus Aurelius, with **TR. P. XXX.**, C. 938 (A. D. 176).

H. M.

MUSWELL HILL.

On the evening of September 6, 1928, a boy, digging in the garden of 104 Cranley Gardens, Muswell Hill, N. 10, came across a hoard of Roman denarii. They were between four and five feet under the surface and were embedded in clay; with them were a silver spoon, a broken bronze ring, and the pieces of the earthenware pot which had contained them. The hoard was adjudged to be Treasure Trove, and came in due course to the British Museum for examination: forty-one coins have been selected for the National Collection.

The hoard consisted of 653 denarii and one drachm of Caesarea Cappadociae distributed over rulers as follows:

		Brought forward	209
Mark Antony	10	Faustina I	21
Nero	2	Marcus Aurelius	31
Galba	1	Faustina II	14
Otho	2	L. Verus	7
Vitellius	1	Lucilla	5
Vespasian	34	Commodus	21
Titus	9	Crispina	3
Domitian	31	Albinus	5
Nerva	4	Septimius Severus	151
Trajan	50 (incl. 1	Julia Domna	68
Hadrian	22 drachm)	Caracalla	63
Sabina	4	Plautilla	25
Antoninus Pius	39	Geta	31
	209		654

The following were the coins included:

Mark Antony 10. Legionary denarii (C. 26 ff.) 10. The only one legible is **LEG. XVI** (C. 48). Several are worn almost smooth, but must in all probability belong to this series.

Nero 2. C. 316, 318.

Galba 1. C. 287 (but *R*).

Otho 2. C. 17 (2).

Vitellius 1. C. 11¹

Vespasian 34. C. 43 (3), 121 (? 2), 125, 129, 214, 362, 366 (4—1 doubtful), 387, 497, 561, 566, 572 (2), four uncertain reverses and two common types, accidentally omitted by C.:

Obv.—IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG. Head, laureate r.

Rev.—COS. ITER. TR. POT. Aequitas standing l., holding scales and rod (2).

Obv.—Similar.

Rev.—COS. ITER. TR. POT. Pax seated l., holding branch and caduceus (9).

Titus 9. C. 17 (2), 65, 106, 158, 167, 313, 318, 321.

Domitian 31. C. 30, 47 (2), 49 (2), 50 (2), 233 (?), 252, 254, 260, 263, 265, 266 (3), 269, 272 (?), 274 (2), 278 (2), 280, 288, 289, 291, 292, 397 (2), 399 (var. *obv.* CAESAR DIVI F. DOMITIANVS COS. IIII), 592 (var. *rev.* Minerva standing l., holding Victory and resting l. hand on shield: spear against l. arm).

Nerua 4. C. 6 (?), 20, 25, 48.

Trajan 50. C. 9 (2), 68 (2), 69, 74 (2), 83 (4), 83 (var. *obv.* laureate, draped l.), 85 (5—but A), 89 (var. *obv.* laureate, draped r.), 98, 99, 120, 136, 154 (2), 188 (but *obv.* laureate draped and GERM.), 190, 206, 222, 227, 240, 260, 264, 270, 274 (3), 276 (2), 295, 302, 313, 378, 394, 417, 537, 577 (2), 648, one uncertain, and one drachma of Caesarea, B.M.C. Syria, &c., Caesarea, 86 (but drachm, not didrachm).

Hadrian 22. C. 130 (?), 328, 335, 358, 454, 595 (var. *obv.* drapery on l. shoulder), 745, 815, 903, 904 (2), 963, 966 (2), 991, 1114, 1120, 1209 (var. *obv.* drapery on l. shoulder), 1260, 1327, 1328, 1335.

Sabina 4. C. 3 (var. *obv.* bust r.—2), 12, 43.

Antoninus Pius 39. C. 33, 154, 156, 164 (3), 196, 197, 201, 226, 240, 270, 284, 291 (2—one doubtful), 292, 345 (2), 390 (var. A-*obv.* head, laureate r., *rev.* OPSEQVENS), 437 (2), 438 (var. *obv.* without TR. P.), 466, 491, 517 (var. *obv.* TR. P. XVI), 735, 804, 983, 1006 (?), 1028 (?), 1035 (var. *rev.* Fortuna r.—2—one with globe under rudder), 1038 (3), 1061, 1062, 1124 (var. but A, no S.C. on *rev.*), and one not in C.:

Obv.—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. IMP. II. Head, laureate r.

Rev.—TR. POT. XIX COS. IIII. Pietas (?) standing l., holding corn-ears and hind.

Faustina I 21. C. 26 (3), 32 (5), 73, 93 (2), 96 (2), 101 (but A), 108, 119, 124, 209, 215, 234, 291.

Marcus Aurelius 31. C. 36, 91, 100, 110, 133, 178, 258, 280, 296, 315, 412, 435, 469, 507, 628, 661, 701 (2—one doubtful), 726, 881, 882, 890, 892, 924, 954 (var. *obv.* cuirassed, *rev.* Salus feeding snake), 963 (2), 965, 972, 979 (?), and one not in C.:

Obv.—**M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG.** Head, laureate r.

Rev.—**COS. III P. P.** Pax seated l., holding branch.

Faustina II 14. C. 24 (3), 71 (3), 75, 111 (2), 126, 139, 147, 249, 266.

L. Verus 7. C. 6, 55, 126, 127, 135 (3).

Lucilla 5. C. 6, 7, 89 (3).

Commodus 21. C. 17, 22, 279, 312, 346, 424 (var. *obv.* **M. COMMODVS ANTON. AVG. PIVS**), 438, 458, 464 (var. *obv.* **M. COMM. ANTON. AVG. PIVS BRIT.** laureate, cuirassed r.), 476, 532, 568 (3, one doubtful—*rev.* **X • II** (?)), 571, 653, 779, 838, 903 (var. *obv.* **ANTON.**), 984, and one not in C.

Obv.—**L. AEL. AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL.** Head, laureate r.

Rev.—**TR. P. XVII IMP. VIII COS. VII P. P.** Libertas standing l., holding pileus and sceptre: star in field l.

Crispina 3. C. 5, 21, 35.

Albinus 5. C. 48 (2), 55, 61 (2).

Septimius Severus 151. C. 1, 21 (4), 37, 39,¹ 42, 135 (3), 146 (2), 181 (3), 188 (?), 203 (2), 205 (7), 216, 222 (8), 243, 281, 281,¹ 298 (2), 301, 309, 315 (2), 359 (var. *obv.* **IMP. IIII**), 370 (8), 372, 373 (3), 390, 390 or 391 (2), 391, 396 (4), 396 or 397, 397, 419 (?), 436 or 437, 437 (2), 442, 444 (but *obv.* laureate r.—3), 452 (2), 454 (7), 457, 461 (3), 464 (2), 469, 470 or 471 (3), 472 (2), 475 (4), 476 (2), 493 (3), 505, 514, 517, 531, 580, 586 (3), 592, 599 (8), 606 (6), 641 (2), 647 (?—2), 694 (3), 744 (2), 761 (4), 777 (3), 794 (7).

Julia Domna 68. C. 14 (2), 27, 47 (5), 57 (2), 58, 72, 76, 79 (5), 82 (3), 97 (4), 101 (3), 101,² 123 (7), 132, 150 (8), 156 (11), 168 (4), 174 (3), 194 (2), 198 (3).

¹ Eastern Mintage. (Two in all.)

² Eastern Mintage. (One in all.)

Caracalla 63. C. 64 (2), 82, 95, 97 (2), 115, 128 (2), 143
var. *obr.* **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.**, 175 (4), 179 (3),
413 (4), 416, 420 (4), 422, 424 (6), 431, 434, 440, 517
(var. *R* and no **S. C.** on *rev.*), 498 (2), 542, 558, 590,
614, 658 (7), 661, 667, 688 (5), 689 (6).

Plautilla 25. C. 1 (6), 10 (4), 16 (3), 21, 25 (11).

Geta 31. C. 36 (2), 38 (3), 49, 49 (2),³ 90 (5), 104 (3), 157 (7),
157,³ 159 (2), 183 (2), 206 (3).

The latest dated coin (Septimius Severus, C. 531) is of the year 209: the absence of any coins of Septimius or Caracalla with the title "Britannicus", which they assumed in 210, definitely fixes the date of burial at 209-10.

The hoard is of a not uncommon type.⁴ Apart from the legionary denarii of Mark Antony, which were saved by their very baseness from the melting pot, the heavy pre-Neronian coinage is not represented. From Nero we have a continuous stream of coinage, which increases greatly in volume in the reign of Septimius Severus. The appearance of a drachma of Trajan of Caesarea Cappadociae among Roman denarii can be paralleled by the appearance of Lycian drachmae of the same Emperor in such finds as Edwinstowe (*Num. Chron.*, 1912, pp. 149 ff.) or Fröndenberg (*Z. f. N.*, xxix, pp. 189 ff.).

UPTON.

On September 13, 1927, a labourer, digging in a field at Walton Wood, Upton, Yorks., turned up a hoard of 303 base billon coins.

They were distributed over reigns as follows:

Gallienus	28
Claudius II	34
Quintillus	2
Postumus	3
Victorinus	50
Tetricus I	131
Tetricus II	54
Two reverses	
(Tetricus II?)	1
	<hr/> 303

³ Eastern Mintage. (Three in all.)

⁴ Cp. East of England Find, *Num. Chron.*, 1898, pp. 126 ff.: Edwinstowe, *Num. Chron.*, 1912, pp. 149 ff.: Lydney, *Num. Chron.*, 1882, pp. 52 ff.: Llanarmon, Dyffryn Ceiriog (Denbighshire), *Num. Chron.*, 1924, pp. 152 ff.: Lucera, *Miscellanea Numismatica*, 1920, December, p. 57: Syria (site unknown), *Atti e memorie del Istituto Italiano di Numismatica*, 1925, pp. 57 ff.

The following is a summary of the coins included :

Gallienus 28. C. 5 (2), 38 (2), 153, 158, 179, 229, 246, 269 (2), 366 (2), 591, 617 (3), 667 (2), 691, 859, 932, 961, 1008, 1014, 1071, 1225 (but no helmet on *rev.*), and one of doubtful reverse.

Claudius II 34. C. 17 (Var. *rev.* **AETERNITAS**), 21, 34, 43 (2), 50 (4), 53, 79, 80 (2—one with uncertain obverse), 109, 110, 114, 150 (uncertain obverse) 160 (2), 185, 197 (var. *obv.* draped—3), 202, 222, 226 (uncertain obverse), 232 (var. *obv.* draped), 262 (uncertain obverse—3), 313, 314 (3—one with uncertain obverse).

Quintillus 2. C. 5, 61.

Postumus 3. C. 31, 60, 266 (incomplete reverse).

Victorinus 50. C. 18 (var. *obv.* **IMP • C • VICTORINVS** &c.), 49 (7), 79 (13), 90 (5), 101 (6), 112 (4), 118 (4), 131 (9), and one barbarous ("Pax" type blundered).

Tetricus I 131. C. 17 (13—5 with uncertain obverse), 37 (8), 39, 43, 54 (11—3 with uncertain obverse), 71 (10), 75 (5), 71 or 75 (16—uncertain), 95 (43—20 uncertain), 131 (var. *obv.* **IMP • C • TETRICVS**, &c.), 153 (5), 154 (6), 107 (7—2 uncertain), 184 (2 uncertain), 207 (2).

Tetricus II 54. C. 4 (6), 34 (4), 60 (11—6 uncertain), 62 (5), 88 (8), 97 (20—10 uncertain).

Tetricus II (?). "Spes" type, obverse and reverse.

H. M.

ROMAN COINS FROM ICKLINGHAM.

AN earthenware bowl containing 1,064 coins—mainly bronze with a few silver, a silver spoon, some rings, beads, &c., was found near Icklingham in 1902. The coins have now been sent to the British Museum for examination. Below are given (1) a summary of them arranged under rulers, (2) a detailed list with reference to Cohen or Sabatier.

Gallienus Caesar	1	Maximinus Daza	1
Claudius II	2	Constantine I	2
Tetricus I	8	Constantinopolis	4
Tetricus II	3	Urbs Roma	6
Radiate (illegible)	6	Theodora	2
Probus	1	Constantine II	6
Carausius	1	Constantine II or Con-	
Allectus	1	stantius II	1

Constantius II	15	Jovian	1
Constantius II or Con-		Valentinian I	9
stans	4	Valens	34
Constantius II or Julian	2	Gratian	11
Constans	12	House of Valentinian I	
Flav. Max. Helena	1	(<i>Obv.</i> illegible)	21
House of Constantine		Valentinian II	67
(<i>Obv.</i> illegible)	23	Theodosius I	89
Magnentius	2	Magnus Maximus	12
Decentius	1	Flavius Victor	4
Magnentius or Decen-		Arcadius	227
tius	1	Eugenius	6
Constantius Gallus	1	Honorius	108
Julian	6	House of Theodosius I	
Constantius Gallus or		(<i>Obv.</i> illegible)	361
Julian	1		

GALLIENUS CAESAR (1). Not in Cohen :

Obv. P. Cor. Sal. Gallienus Nob. Cae. Bust rad. and cuir. r.

Rev. Concordia militum. Three manipular ensigns. Billon.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS (2). C. 105 (? 1), 150 (1). Both *obv.* illegible.

TETRICUS I (8). C. 54 (2), 190 (? 1). Barbarous 3Æ small (2). Types: ? Hilaritas and Spes. 4Æ (3). Types: Laetitia, Pax, and ? Spes.

TETRICUS II (3). C. 24 (1), 53 (? 1), 64 (1).

RADIATE HEADS. Barbarous (6). 3 Æ (3). Types: Centaur l., turning r.; Hilaritas; Salus. 3 Æ small (3). Types Laetitia and two indecipherable.

PROBUS (1). Cf. C. 939 (but *obv.* Virtus Probi Aug. Bust rad. and cuir. l., holding spear and shield). XXIS

CARAUSIUS (1). Cf. Webb 1031 (but *obv.* Imp. Carausius p. f. Aug. ; *rev.* Salus holds wand in l.).

ALLECTUS (1). Cf. C. 81-5.

		P	R
MAXIMINUS DAZA (1).	C. 40	Δ	
		ALE.	

CONSTANTINE I (2). C. 244 (1), 640 (1).

CONSTANTINOPOLIS (4). C. 21 (1). Semi-barbarous (3)

$\frac{|}{\cdot P \overline{\text{TRP}}}$ (1), $\frac{|}{P \overline{\text{TRP}}}$ (1).

URES ROMA (6). C. 17 (2) $\frac{|}{\text{TRP}}$, $\frac{2}{\overline{\text{TRP}}}$. Barbarous (2)

$\frac{|}{\text{LVG}}$ (1).

FLAVIA MAXIMA HELENA (1). Not in Cohen :

Obv. Flav. Max. Helena Aug. Bust diad. and dr. r.

Rev. Aeternitas. Male figure st. l. with globe in r. hand, inverted trident in l. No mint-mark.
Base silver.

THEODORA (2). C. 4 (1) $\frac{|}{\cdot \text{TRP}}$, 3 or 4 (1).

CONSTANTINE II (6). C. 113 (1) $\frac{|}{\text{TRP}}$, 117 (1) $\frac{M}{\text{TRP}}$, 122 (2)

$\frac{2}{\text{TRP}}$, $\frac{|}{\text{RES}}$. Semi-barbarous (2) cf. C. 114. One with *obv.* - - - *iunob.*

CONSTANTINE II or CONSTANTIUS II (1). Cf. Constantine II

C. 117 (1) $\frac{M}{\text{TRP}}$.

CONSTANTIUS II (15). C. 45 (2) $\frac{|}{R \cdot M \cdot E}$ (1), 104 (1) $\frac{|}{\text{TRP}}$,

188 (2), 293 (7) $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{TARL}}$, $\frac{\text{P}}{\overline{\text{TRP}}}$, $\frac{M}{\cdot \text{PARL}}$, $\frac{M}{\overline{\text{TRP}}}$,

$\frac{\overline{\text{TRP}}}{\overline{\text{TRP}}}$, 335 (1) $\frac{|}{\text{SMALF}}$. Barbarous (2) cf. C. 45 (2).

CONSTANTIUS or CONSTANS (4). Cf. Constantius II, C. 293 (3),

335 (1) $\frac{|}{\overline{\text{MTS}}}$ (1).

CONSTANTIUS or JULIAN (2). Cf. Constantius II, C. 341 (2, clipped).

CONSTANS (12). C. 21 (1) $\frac{|}{\text{TRS}}$, 51 (1) $\frac{|}{\cdot \text{TRS}}$, 53 (1),

65 (1), 176 (1) $\frac{Y}{\text{TRP}}$, 179 (6) $\frac{D}{\text{TRS}}$, $\frac{D}{\overline{\text{TRP}}}$, $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{TRP}}$,

$\frac{\text{P}}{\text{TRS}}$, $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{TRX}}$, $\frac{\text{P}}{\overline{\text{TRP}}}$. Barbarous (1), cf. C. 74.

HOUSE OF CONSTANTINE (23). *Gloria exercitus* type, (a) two standards (1), (b) one standard (3, of which two are barbarous). *Victoriae dd. Augg.q. nn.* type (1). *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* type—warrior spearing fallen horseman (2, of which one is overstruck on *Victoriae dd.*

Augg.q. nn. type); ditto, semi-barbarous (4), $\frac{|}{\text{PTR}}$ (1), barbarous 4Æ (1) and minimi (3). *Spes reipublice* type (7), $\frac{|}{\text{R} \text{ S}}$ (1).

? Barbarous minim. *Obv.* blundered. Head diad. r.

Rev. Altar inscribed $\frac{\text{XX}}{\text{XT}}$ and above, VOTIB.

MAGNENTIUS (2). C. 20 (1, cut down from 2Æ). Barbarous (1). *Obv.* DV MCN - - - . *Rev.* $\frac{\text{OT}}{\text{VN}}$ in wreath and below $\frac{\text{V}}{\text{~}}$. Cf. C. 43.

DECENTIUS (1). Barbarous, $\frac{|}{\text{RL}}$. Cf. C. 18.

MAGNENTIUS or DECENTIUS (1). Type of Magnentius C. 71.

CONSTANTIUS GALLUS (1). C. 9 or 10 (1) $\frac{|}{\text{CP}}$.

CONSTANTIUS GALLUS or JULIAN (1). Type of Const. Gallus C. 9 or 10 (1) $\frac{|}{\text{AV}\Delta}$.

JULIAN (6). C. 42 or 43 (2) $\frac{|}{\text{TCON}}$ (1), 146 (but *obv.* p. f.) (1), 148 or 149 (1, clipped), 154 (1) $\frac{|}{\text{TCON}}$, 159 (1) $\frac{|}{\text{LVG}}$.

JOVIAN (1). C. 35 (1) $\frac{|}{\text{VRB}\cdot\text{ROM}\cdot\text{P}}$.

VALENTINIAN I (9). C. 12 (4) $\frac{| \text{P}}{\text{SMAQS}}$, $\frac{\text{O} | \text{FI}}{\text{LVCSA}}$, $\frac{|}{\text{SMAQS}}$, $\frac{\text{O} | \text{FI}}{\text{~}}$, 18 (1) $\frac{|}{\text{SLVG}}$, 37 (4) $\frac{|}{\text{PCON}}$, $\frac{\text{OF} | \text{II}}{\text{CONST}}$, $\frac{|}{\text{T}}$, $\frac{|}{\text{R}\cdot\text{QVARTA}}$.

VALENS (34). C. 11 (8) $\overline{\text{SMAQP}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{R} \cdot \text{SECVNDA}}$,
 $\overline{\text{OF} | \text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{OF} | \text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{O} | \text{FI}}$, $\overline{\text{OF} | \text{III}}$, $\overline{\cdot}$,
 $\overline{\text{CONS}}$, $\overline{\text{ON}}$, $\overline{\text{LVG} \cdot \text{S}}$,
 47 (14) $\overline{\text{PCON}}$, $\overline{\text{OF} | \text{II}}$, $\overline{\text{OF} | \text{III}}$, $\overline{\text{OF} | \text{II}}$ (2),
 $\overline{\text{OF} | \text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{OF} | \text{I}}$, $\overline{\text{R} | \text{A}}$, 96 (1) $\overline{\text{ANT}}$, 102
 $\overline{\text{LVGPD}}$, $\overline{\text{GP}}$, $\overline{\text{ASISCV}}$,
 (1) $\overline{\text{SMANA}}$, 107 (1), 109 (9) $\overline{\text{TRPS}}$ (3), $\overline{\text{TRPS} \cdot}$ (1),
 $\overline{\text{TRP}}$ (1).

GRATIAN (11). C. 13 (2) $\overline{\text{N} | \text{CON}}$, $\overline{\text{OF} | \text{I}}$, 34 (1)
 $\overline{\text{SMAQP}}$, 23 or 24 (2) $\overline{\text{R} | \text{S}}$, $\overline{\text{SISC}}$, 56 (1)
 $\overline{\text{TRPS}}$, 86 (5) $\overline{\text{TRPS}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{TRPS} \cdot}$ (2).

HOUSE OF VALENTINIAN I (21). Type of Valentinian I,
 C. 37 (14) $\overline{\cdot \text{SECVNDA}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{R} \cdot \text{QVARTA}}$ (2),
 $\overline{\Delta \text{SISC}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{NTB}}$ (1), 79 (3, one with *rev.*
 $\overline{\text{MVLTS}}$), 81 (2). Type of Valens C. 110 (1). Type
 of Gratian C. 29 (1, fragment).

VALENTINIAN II (67). C. 8 or 9 (1), 30 (35) $\overline{\text{AQP}}$ (9),
 $\overline{\text{AQS}}$ (3), $\overline{\text{RP}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{RB}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{R} \cdot \text{P}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{R} \cdot \cdot}$ (1),
 $\overline{\cdot}$ (2), $\overline{\text{SMK}}$ (1), 40 (3) $\overline{\text{TRPS}}$ (3), 46 (24),
 $\overline{\text{PCON}}$ (10), $\overline{\text{TCON}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{TR}}$ (1),
 cf. 76 (1, but *rev.* Rome seated on throne) $\overline{\text{R} \cdot \text{Q} \cdot}$.

Not in Cohen:

Rev. Victoria Augg. Two Victories (3) $\overline{\cdot}$ (2),
 $\overline{\cdot}$.

THEODOSIUS I (89). C. 4 (1), 14 (1), 30 (31) $\overline{\text{AQP}}$ (2),
 $\overline{\text{AQS}}$ (4), $\overline{\text{AQ}}$ (3), $\overline{\text{RP}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{RQ}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{R}\cdot\text{Q}}$ (1),
 41 (42) $\overline{\text{PCON}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{SCON}}$ (5), $\overline{\text{TCON}}$ (5), $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (7),
 $\overline{\text{TR}}$ (4), $\overline{\text{LVGP}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{R}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$ (1), 43 (5)
 $\overline{\text{SMAQP}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{PCON}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SM}}$ (1), 57 (3, 1 clipped,
 but *rev.* Rome holds spear) $\overline{\text{TRPS}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$ (1),
 59 (1, clipped), 65 (1) $\overline{\text{SM}}$, 67 (1, clipped), 70 (2)
 $\overline{\text{AN}}\cdot\overline{\text{SM}}$. One *obv.* brockage (4Æ).

MAGNUS MAXIMUS (12). C. 7 (8) $\overline{\text{PCON}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{TCON}}$ (4),
 $\overline{\text{SMTR}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{LVGP}}$ (1), 20 (4, clipped) $\overline{\text{TRPS}}$ (2).

FLAVIUS VICTOR (4). C. 3 (4) $\overline{\text{LVGP}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SMTR}}$ (1),
 $\overline{\text{SMT}}$ (1).

ARCADIUS (227). SABATIER 27 (7, 6 clipped) $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$ (2),
 $\overline{\text{TRPS}}$ (2), 41 (24) $\overline{\text{AQP}}$ (14), $\overline{\text{AQS}}$ (3), $\overline{\text{AQ}}$ (2),
 $\overline{\text{CONSP}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{SMK}}\cdot\overline{\text{R}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{RP}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{R}\cdot\text{P}}$ (1). Bar-
 barous (1) $\overline{\text{RB}}$, 47 (1) $\overline{\text{SMN}}\cdot\overline{\text{R}}$. One 4Æ with *rev.*
 indecipherable.

Not in Sabatier :

Rev. Victoria Augg. Two Victories (2) $\overline{\text{RT}}$ (1), one
 Victory (191) $\overline{\text{PCON}}$ (15), $\overline{\text{SCON}}$ (10), $\overline{\text{TCON}}$ (24),

$\overline{\text{CON}}$ (21), $\overline{\text{LVGP}}$ (9), $\overline{\text{LVGS}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{LVG}}$ (5),
 $\overline{\text{TR}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{T}\cdot\text{R}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{R}}$ (1). Barbarous or blundered
 (4). *Vot. V Mult. X* in wreath (1, clipped).

HONORIUS (108). C. 32 (31) $\overline{\text{AQS}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{R}}$ (6), $\overline{\text{RC}}$ (1),
 32 Var. (7, *obv. Onorius*) $\overline{\text{RB}}$ (1), 39 (63) $\overline{\text{SCON}}$ (1),
 $\overline{\text{TCON}}$ (15), $\overline{\text{CON}}$ (4), $\overline{\text{LVGP}}$ (4), $\overline{\text{LVCP}}$ (1),
 59 (5, clipped) $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$ (3), 63 (1, clipped). One 4Æ
 with *rev.* indecipherable.

EUGENIUS (6). C. 5 (2) $\overline{\text{AQS}}$ (2), 8 (2), 14 (2, clipped).

HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS I. *Obv.* illegible (361). *Rev.* type
 of Theodosius I. C. 30 (167, 3 barbarous) $\overline{\text{AQP}}$ (4),
 $\overline{\text{AQS}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{AQ}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{RP}}$ (5), $\overline{\text{RT}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{RQ}}$ (6),
 $\overline{\text{RB}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{RC}}$ (3), $\overline{\text{R}\cdot\text{T}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{R}\cdot\text{Q}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{R}}$ (7), 41 (182,
 3 barbarous, one with *rev. Augg*) $\overline{\text{PCON}}$ (14),
 $\overline{\text{SCON}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{TCON}}$ (12), $\overline{\text{AQP}}$ (2), $\overline{\text{AQS}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{LVCP}}$ (5),
 $\overline{\text{LVG}}$ (5), $\overline{\text{TR}}$ (3), $\overline{\text{P}}$ (1), 43 (4) $\overline{\text{R}}$ (1), $\overline{\text{RT}}$ (1),
 57 (8, clipped) $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$ (1).

The hoard is dated by the *Victoria Augg* and *Salus Reipublicae* types of Honorius as not earlier than A.D. 393-5. The former type, both from the inappropriateness of the legend after the death of Theodosius and the disturbed state of Gaul where it was exclusively struck, may well have ended in 395. A Vienna hoard (cf. *N. Z.* 58), found amid the remains of a burnt camp whose destruction is

plausibly connected with the operations of Radagaisus in 405-6, gives only 20 of the *Victoria* to 257 of the *Salus* type and bears out this conclusion. Even allowing for the interruption of intercourse between Gaul and Pannonia the disproportion is too great for us to consider the two types as concurrent to the end.

The *Salus* type was struck in Italy and the East. In the East it cannot have long survived the accession of Honorius, as in Mr. Milne's four Egyptian hoards only 36 are recorded for him out of a total of 1,450 attributable coins of this type. Meanwhile it may have continued to be struck in Italy. If correctly dated, the Vienna hoard, which has no later type, certainly suggests this. It is possible that our present hoard may make some contribution to the settlement of the question. Honorius, for the first time to my knowledge, outnumbers the other emperors in this type.¹ Their mint-marks also are chiefly of Aquileia, but also of Rome, and on the whole are fairly legible, i. e. the striking is comparatively careful. Honorius alone has an utterly disproportionate number of wholly illegible mint-marks, 29 out of 38. Of the 9 others 8 are of Rome and only 2 completely legible. The 4 \mathcal{A} of this period are notoriously badly struck, but we seem here to have evidence of an exceptionally careless issue struck at Rome in the name of the new emperor of the West and reflecting the disorganization which followed on the death of Theodosius. In the Vienna hoard, of 80 wholly legible mint-marks all are of Aquileia, and of 31 partly legible 24 have AQ - -. Six only (and one of these is doubtful) have R - -. It is true there is no preponderance of Honorius here (the numbers are: Val. II 8, Theod. 26, Arc. 54, Hon. 24), but on the assumption of a late and particularly careless Roman issue his coins would be largely unidentifiable.

Possibly, then, our hoard may be dated a little later than the similar hoards found on other British sites. Two coins, now in the British Museum, are of unusual interest and will provoke further discussion, the Gallienus Caesar and the Flav. Max. Helena.

The evidence from coins, inscriptions, and literature for the sons of Gallienus has been fully set out in *N. Z.* 1908. It seems clearly proved that Valerianus junior died in the fifth Egyptian year of the reign and that it was

¹ Since this was written, Mr. F. S. Salisbury has noted a similar predominance of Honorius in the Weymouth hoard. (*The Western Gazette*, Jan. 31, 1929).

Saloninus, the only other son known to us from coins and inscriptions, who was killed by Postumus in the eighth Egyptian year. The statement of Victor, *Epit.*, and Zonaras that after the murder of the "elder son" by Postumus a younger son was named Caesar in his stead (Victor) and fell with his father in A. D. 268 (Zonaras) was accordingly discredited, but is confirmed by our coin. The attempt to support the statement of Victor by making Valerianus junior the victim of Postumus involves numismatic and historical difficulties and becomes unnecessary now that we have evidence of a third son of Gallienus. Valerianus junior having died in A. D. 257, "the elder" of the two surviving sons was killed by Postumus in A. D. 261 and "the younger", the Gallienus of our present coin, made Caesar.² Its inferior billon, oriental appearance, and reverse type and legend, rallying a doubtful soldiery to the support of the reigning dynasty, suggest the revolt of Macrianus as the occasion of its issue.

Of the three known Helenas the mother of Constantine is certainly Flav. Jul.; the wife of Crispus certainly not Augusta. There remains the wife of Julian, who was Augusta for the last few months of her life. Her name also is given as Flav. Jul. (I do not know on what authority), but as the daughter of Flav. Max. Fausta and the grand-daughter of Maximianus she might well be named Maxima. The *rev.* legend seems certain, though the first five letters are very faint. Its type is strange but certainly suits better a Pagan than a Christian emperor. What aspect of Eternity is symbolized by the figure with globe and trident? Mr. Mattingly very aptly compares Seneca, *H. F.* 560 seqq., where the *mortis dominus, qui rex populis pluribus imperat* is represented as *telum tergemina cuspide praeferens*. Thus the idea conveyed by the type seems to be that through her mortality the deceased empress attains immortality—*longae, canitis si cognita, vitae | Mors media est.*

J. W. E. PEARCE.

² But Prof. Alföldi argues strongly in favour of attributing the coin to Saloninus—with "Gallienus" substituted for "Valerianus" as his name, after the capture of the old Valerian by the Persians.

THE COINS FOUND AT SILCHESTER.

DURING the excavations at Silchester, which were completed in 1909, nearly 9,000 coins were found. Shortly afterwards Mr. Mill Stephenson drew up a list of about 2,000 of the better preserved specimens, giving a detailed description of each and references to Cohen. This list has never been published and is now, together with the coins, the property of the Reading Museum. Within the last year I have cleaned and, as far as I could, deciphered the remainder which were "worn, corroded, and illegible". A detailed list with references to Mattingly and Sydenham or Cohen, will be sent to the Reading Museum. Meanwhile a *résumé* of the results obtained by Mr. Mill Stephenson and myself (distinguished by the initials M.-S. and P. respectively) may be useful.

	M.-S.	P.	Total
Gaulish and British	14	2	16
Roman Republic	4	—	4
Triumvirate	5	—	5
Augustus	3	1	4
Agrippa	1	3	4
Tiberius	1	—	1
Caligula	1	1	2
Claudius	19	38	57
Nero	10	12	22
Otho	1	—	1
Vespasian	44	44	88
Titus	9	2	11
Domitian	23	28	51
Nerva	7	1	8
Trajan	56	23	79
Hadrian	48	32	80
Sabina	7	—	7
Antoninus Pius	51	37	88
Faustina Sen.	16	9	25
Marcus Aurelius	36	19	55
Faustina Jun.	21	11	32
Lucius Verus	3	—	3
Lucilla	6	4	10
Commodus	12	8	20
Crispina	—	2	2
Septimius Severus	28	7	35
Julia Domna	8	—	8

Caracalla	11	1	12
Geta	4	1	5
Macrinus	1	—	1
Julia Maesa	1	3	4
Julia Soemias	4	1	5
Elagabalus	6	3	9
Julia Paula	1	—	1
Julia Mamaea	2	2	4
Sev. Alexander	20	7	27
Sev. Alex. and Jul. Mam. .	1	—	1
Maximinus	4	1	5
Gordian III	9	2	11
Philip Sen. . . .	3	—	3
Otacilia	1	—	1
Trajan Decius	2	—	2
Volusian	1	1	2
Valerian	5	7	12
Mariana	1	—	1
Gallienus	73	127	200
Salonina	18	4	22
Saloninus	4	—	4
Postumus	30	18	48
Laelian	—	1	1
Marius	1	—	1
Victorinus	72	66	138
Tetricus Sen. . . .	28	363	391
Tetricus Jun. . . .	12	130	142
Tetricus Sen. or Tetricus Jun.	30	—	30
Radiate unattributed . .	—	657	657
Claudius Gothicus . . .	84	250	334
Quintillus	9	3	12
Aurelian	8	2	10
Tacitus	3	3	6
Florian	—	1	1
Probus	11	2	13
Carus	1	—	1
Numerianus	—	1	1
Diocletian	8	3	11
Maximianus Herc. . . .	12	2	14
Carausius	156	117	273
Allectus	62	14	76
Constantius I	6	1	7
Helena	22	26	48
Theodora	15	18	33

Galerius	10	1	11
Maximinus Daza	4	—	4
Maxentius	2	—	2
Licinius Sen.	10	4	14
Licinius Jun.	2	—	2
Constantine I	192	109	301
Fausta	1	—	1
Constantinopolis	64	120	184
Urbs Roma	123	54	177
Pop. Romanus	3	1	4
Crispus	35	7	42
Delmatius	1	—	1
Constantine II	103	36	139
Constantius II	89	67	156
Constans	111	83	194
House of Constantine I	—	526	526
Magnentius	31	12	43
Decentius	6	5	11
Magnentius or Decentius	—	21	21
Constantius Gallus	1	1	2
Julian	8	1	9
Valentinian I	38	125	163
Valens	66	214	280
Gratian	41	112	153
House of Valentinian I	—	224	224
Theodosius I	8	27	35
Arcadius	14	24	38
Mag. Maximus	2	4	6
Fl. Victor	1	1	2
?[Euge]nius	1	—	1
Honorius	6	6	12
House of Theodosius I	—	311	311
Total classified	2,149	4,218	6,367

The resulting percentages for the various periods of the Roman occupation are (roughly) :

- | | |
|--|------|
| 1. First century (Augustus to Nerva) | 3.9 |
| 2. Second century (Trajan to Commodus) | 6.3 |
| 3. Third century (Sept. Severus to Valerian) | 2.3 |
| 4. Third century (Gallienus to Numerianus) | 30.9 |
| 5. First Tetrarchy (mainly Carausius and Allectus) | 6.0 |

6. Constantine I	16.9
7. A. D. 337-364	14.3
8. A. D. 364-379	12.8
9. A. D. 379-	6.6

At Richborough the last period was represented by over 60 per cent.

As stated above, details can be ascertained from the manuscript lists in the Reading Museum. Most of the coins are of no special interest. The "Eugenius", however, is an exception: *obv.* NIVS P P AVG; bust quite unlike Eugenius and rather of the Valentinian type. *Rev.* VOTIS | V | MVLTVS | X with mm. LVC. It is a legitimate coin, but bust, obverse division, and reverse legend are all unknown for Eugenius.

Of the "Radiate unattributed" about 230 are barbarous and about 100 are of \mathcal{A} 4 size. The few decipherable *minimi* are of either the "Spes" or "altar" type. One barbarous \mathcal{A} 3 is distinctive: *rev.* "legend": OO~~~~; type: male figure standing facing with O in r. hand, baton in l. In l. field O above star.

Among the legitimate coins there were a few variations from Mattingly and Sydenham or Webb:

Gallienus (sole reign). M. and S. 255 | : *obv.* 8 F.

M. and S. 274 a: | XII.

Claudius II. M. and S. 81 | : *obv.* 3 F. Not in

M. and S. (1) *Obv.*]dio; *rev.* Aeternitas Aug.

(2) *Obv.* 3 F; *rev.* Feli - - Aug.

Carausius. *Obv.* indeterminate; *rev.* Pax Aug. (1)

Female figure holding ? purse and tr. sceptre, | ;

(2) type = *Laetitia*, $\frac{F | O}{|||||}$. *Obv.* Imp. *Carausius* - - ;

rev. [Conco]rd milit. Clasp hands, C. *Obv.* Imp.

Carausius p. Aug.; *rev.* Provid. Aug., C; cf. Webb

403. *Obv.* Imp. C. M. *Carausius p. f. Aug.*; *rev.*

Provid[e]ntia Aug., C.

The Constantinian coins are normal in character and distribution, but the distribution of the post-A. D. 340 types, though, I think, normal, may be worth mentioning. Of the "Two Victories" type Constantius has 3, Constans 54; of the *Fel. temp. reparatio* (phoenix type) Constantius 2, Constans 19; (fallen horseman type) Constantius 22 (6 bar-

barous), Constans 1. There are 178 of this latter type unattributable. Only 1 is \mathcal{A} 2, and of the rest only about 30 legitimate (3 cut down); the remainder are mainly \mathcal{A} 4. One small \mathcal{A} 3 has *rev. Felicit* - - -. Six are overstrikes on the *Gloria exercitus* or "Two Victories" types (? the *vetitae* of Cod. Theod. ix. 23. 1) and one apparently on a legitimate coin of the same type.

The Valentinian coins are, as usual, mainly from the Gallic mints of Lugdunum and Arles; a few from Aquileia and Rome; one only from Trier and one $\left(\frac{+}{\text{|||||}}\frac{+}{+}\right)$ from ? Constantinople. But Siscia is, as usual, the best represented of the extra-Gallic mints, which must point, I suppose, to the movement of troops from Pannonia to Britain.

The Theodosian coins seem to show signs of prolonged use. There were 152 of the *Victoria Auggg* type to 128 of the *Salus republicae* type; of the former 41 were at least partly decipherable, of the latter, 23.

Among the coins was a small rectangular piece with head and traces of letters on one side. If an *exagium tremissis*, it was 5 gr. short in weight.

J. W. E. PEARCE.

ROMAN COINS FROM CIRENCESTER.

THE 924 coins listed below are said to have been found as a hoard at Cirencester, but precise details of the find seem to be lacking.

Claudius II. C. 45 (1). *Radiate* (2, both barbarous). *Constantine I.* C. 246 (1). *Constantinopolis.* C. 21 (2). *Urbs Roma.* C. 17 (2). *Helena.* C. 4 (1). *Constantine II.* C. 122 (1, \mathcal{A}^4 but not barbarous) **TR·P**; C. 124 (1). *Constantius II.* **GLORIA EXERCITVS** one standard (2, both barbarous); **VOT XX MVLT** in wreath (1). *Constantius II* or *Constans.* **SPES REIPVBLICE** (1) **SMHA**. *Magnentius.* C. 69 (1) **AMBΘ**. *Julian.* **SPES REIPVBLICE** (1). *House of Constantine* unattributed. **CONSTAN** | · · **VS** | [**CAESAR**] (1); **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** falling horseman type \mathcal{A}^3 (1); \mathcal{A}^4 (4, all barbarous); **GLORIA EXERCITVS** two standards (2); one standard \mathcal{A}^3 small (10), *minimi* (2); ? **SECVRITAS REIPVB** (1); **SPES REIPVBLICE** (3); **VICTORIAE**

DD AVGG Q NN (7), $\frac{D}{TRP}$ (2), $\frac{P}{TP?}$ (1), $\overline{TR?}$ (1),
 $\frac{M}{PLG}$ (1), $\frac{MR}{RBT}$ (1), $\frac{?}{?}$ (1). Uncertain *Rev.* (2).

Valentinian I. C. 37 (1). *Valens.* C. 47 (1). *Siscia mm.*
Gratian. C. 13 (4). *House of Valentinian I* unattributed.
GLORIA ROMANORVM (7, of which 5 are cut down to
 \mathcal{A}^4 size; one of the latter shows part of a *Siscia mm.*);
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE (15). Uncertain *Rev.* (3).

Valentinian II. C. 33 (5) **AQP** (1); C. 46 (17) **LVGP** (3),
 $?CON$ (1); C. 73 (1) **SMKF**; not in Cohen **VICTORIA**
AVGGG two *Victories* (1) $?P$. *Theodosius I.* C. 30 (5);
C. 41 (9) **LVGP** (2), **PCON** (1), **SCON** (1), **TCON** (2),
 $?CON$ (1); C. 43 (1); with *Rev.* uncertain (4). *Magnus*
Marimus. C. 7 (2) **S]MA[QP** (1). *Flavius Victor.* C. 3 (2)
 $\overline{TR?}$ (1), **S]MAQ[P** (1). *Maximus or Victor* **SPES**
ROMANORVM (5). *Arcadius.* Sab. 41 (18) **AQP** (2);
not in Sab. **VICTORIA AVGGG** two *Victories* (1) $R?$,
one *Victory* (67) **LVCP** (14), **PCON** (2), **TCON** (8),
 $?CON$ (1); with *Rev.* uncertain (10). *Eugenius.* Not in
Cohen **VICTORIA AVGGG** *Victory adv. l.* (1) \overline{TR} .
Honorius. C. 32 (7); C. 39 (12) $?CON$ (3), $R?$ (1); ? C. 39
(3, with *Obv.* **HONRIVS**); with *Rev.* uncertain (1).
House of Theodosius I unattributed. **GLORIA REI-**
PVBLICE \mathcal{A}^4 (1) **TES**; **SALVS REIPVBLICAE** (109),
AQP (1), $?P$ (1), $?S$ (1), **RT** (1), **RQ** (1), **Rē** (1);
VICTORIA AVGG (1) \overline{TR} (? *Maximus or Eugenius*, but
not given by v. Koblitiz); **VICTORIA AVGGG** two
Victories (7) \overline{RP} (2), $\frac{?}{?}$ (1), $\frac{?}{?}$ (1), one *Victory* (220),
LVCP (15), **PCON** (7), **SCON** (3), **TCON** (9), $?CON$ (15),
 $R?$ (1), \overline{TR} (9), **ANTA** (1). One with illegible mm. has
VICTORI—AAVGGG (Trier); **VOT X MVLT** - - (1).

Of the 329 unclassified coins 8 \mathcal{A}^3 are probably Constan-
tinian or Valentinian and 309 \mathcal{A}^4 are certainly mainly
Theodosian. Among these latter are 12 *minimi*, one with
a semi-barbarous single *Victory* type. No other has a
decipherable *Rev.* but none seems to be very barbarous.

An analysis of the hoard according to date gives: c. A.D. 270 (3); c. A.D. 330-7 (12); c. A.D. 337-64 (35); c. A.D. 364-78 (31); c. A.D. 379-95 (514+). No coin can be shown to be later than about A.D. 395. There is not, as at Icklingham, a preponderance of Honorius and the mint of Rome in the *Salus* type, which perhaps suggests an issue subsequent to 395. Contact with Rome would naturally have been lost rather earlier on the W. than on the E. coast.

The cutting down of \mathcal{A}^3 to \mathcal{A}^4 seems to show that the former denomination was no longer in general use. The practice has a counterpart in the halving and quartering of earlier coins of a larger denomination mentioned in connexion with a late hoard found at Viminacium (*N. Z.*, 60, p. 13). That they are not a reduced module of \mathcal{A}^3 is shown by the fact that they are all Valentinian, while the type was struck of full size in the latest issue of Siscia some twelve or thirteen years after Valentinian I's death. Such as actually occur of reduced module appear to be unauthorized issues and not to represent a Theodosian lowering of the \mathcal{A}^3 standard.

The unusually large proportion of illegible and only partly legible coins is due not only to their careless striking but mainly to their worn condition which suggests a somewhat prolonged continuance of the civic life of Corinium after the Roman evacuation.

J. W. E. PEARCE.

NOTE ON A HOARD OF LATE ROMAN COINS FOUND AT
LLANGARREN, HEREFORDSHIRE.

This hoard was found in December, 1912, whilst ploughing in a field on the Hill Farm, Llangarren. According to the finder the coins were contained in a pot which stood within two parallel rows of stones, two feet long, ten inches wide, and about eighteen inches in depth. The pot was smashed to pieces and only two fragments were preserved at the time. Unfortunately these were subsequently thrown away or lost. At this time negotiations for the purchase of the hoard failed; but in 1926 it was secured, as far as can be judged, in the same condition as that in which it was found. Some few of the coins may have gone astray, but the hoard may be taken as practically complete. The coins received numbered 2,810, weighing 32 lb. net, and range from the

large folles of the reformed coinage of Diocletian in 296 to the centenionales of the eighth issue of the Trèves mint under Constantine I between 326-30, about which date the hoard must have been buried. The coins are all in good condition, some in excellent preservation, and many still retain traces of the silver wash to which they were subjected before issue. One especially, from the Trèves mint, is almost as fresh as the day it was issued. The emperors or Caesars represented are Diocletian 117, Maximian Hercules 162, Maximian Galerius 122, Constantius I 98, Severus 9, Maximinus Daza 106, Licinius 269, Constantine I 1,906, Crispus 3, and Constantine II, as Caesar, 18.

The mints are Alexandria, Antioch, Aquileia, Arles, Carthage, Cyzicus, London, Lyons, Ostia, Rome, Siscia, Ticinum, and Trèves. London heads the list with 1,546, nearly one-half of the total; Trèves follows with 867; Lyons with 244, and Arles with 52. Alexandria is represented by two, Antioch, Aquileia, and Cyzicus by one each, Carthage by 14, Ostia by 16, Rome by 24, Siscia by 9, and Ticinum by 25.

The reverse types include Beat Tranqlitas 7, Beata Tranquillitas 3, Caesarum Nostrorum 3, Claritas Reipublicae 1, Comiti Aauugg 2, Comiti Augg NN 103, Concord Milit 11, Felix Advent Augg NN 5, Fides Militum 1, Fortunae Reduci Caess NN 1, Genio Populi Rom 1, Genio Populi Romani 410, Genio Pop Rom 468, Herculi Conservatori 2, Marti Conservatori 62, Marti Patri Conservatori 8, Marti Patri Propug 3, Marti Patri Propugnatori 4, Memoria Felix 5, M Sacra Augg et Caess NN 3, Mon S Augg et Caess NN 1, Moneta S Augg et Caess NN 7, Moneta Sacra Augg et Caess NN 2, Pax Augg 1, Principi Juventutis 35, Principia Juventutis 2, Providentia Deorum Quies Augg 6, Providentiae Augg 3, Providentiae Caess 3, Quies Augg 3, Sac Mon Urb Augg et Caess NN 5, Sacra Mon Urb Augg et Caess NN 8, Sacra Monet Augg et Caess Nostr 11, Salvis Augg et Caess Aucta Kart 1, Salvis Augg et Caess Fel Kart 8, Sarmatia Devicta 1, Securitas Augg 3, Soli Invicto Comiti 1,601, S P Q R Optimo Principi 4, Virtus Augg et Caess NN 2.

Six hundred and sixteen of the coins have been placed in the British Museum and the remainder in the Hereford Museum.

MILL STEPHENSON.

REVIEWS

In der Münzstätte Treveri geprägte Münzen von Valentinianus sen. bis zum Aufhören der Prägung. Von Hans Frhr. v. Koblitz, Salzburg. [Extr. from *Trierer Zeitschrift* III, 1928: Verlag Jacob Lintz, Trier.]

This admirable monograph on the work of the Trier mint from A. D. 364 till its close appeared with other articles of more general antiquarian interest in the *Trierer Zeitschrift*, III, 1928. No such helpful work as this for the study of a rather neglected period of numismatics has been published since the descriptions of the Dortmund (Δ) and Veszprém (\mathcal{A} 3) finds by Regling and Voetter respectively. The coins struck for each Emperor are arranged alphabetically in their several denominations, every coin clearly and accurately described in fullest detail. A few given by Cohen will not be found here as Baron v. Koblitz includes in his list only such as he has been able to verify by personal examination of the originals in the principal museums and private collections or of trustworthy casts, photographs, and rubbings. It is to be hoped that similar monographs on the other mints will appear successively at no long intervals, for in the forty years which Baron v. Koblitz tells us he has devoted to his study most of the necessary material must be ready to his hand. The completed result will be a great and much needed work. Corrections and additions are invited. The carefulness of the author's methods gives little scope for the former; the latter will consist mainly in filling up gaps in the mint-marks of the long \mathcal{A} 3 *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae* series. These are comparatively rare from Trier—I noted only 7 out of 705 at Lydney—but there is always a chance that collectors who review their coins by the standard of Baron v. Koblitz's authenticated list will be rewarded. It is worth while mentioning that no coin from Trier is given for Honorius.

I append a few notes, mainly small additions, of which those given without authority stated are from coins in my own possession. (K. = v. Koblitz; C. = Cohen.)

Valentinian I. K. 9 (C. 43) Rd. Also **TROBS.** (Luneau Sale, Platt, Paris, June 6th, 1922). K. 10 (not in C.). *Obv.* legend required. K. 12 (not in C.). Also with *obv.* bust r.

(B.M.). K. 16 (C. 81). There is also a rather distinctive issue of this type (*R urbs Roma*, on throne) for Valentinian I, Valens and Gratian with spear instead of sceptre. K. 17 (C. 82). Examples of this type (*R urbs Roma*, on cuirass) are quoted as in B.M. with both **TRPS** and **TRPS**. The latter is not in the B.M.; the former is, I think, certainly a coin of

Val. II. K. 19 (C. 7). Also $\frac{*}{\text{TRP}}$ (Budapest), **TRP**.

K. 20 (C. 12). Also with *obv.* division of legend **N-I** $\frac{\times}{\text{TRP}}$ (*sic*). The warrior dragging the captive has mantle flying

to l. K. 21 (C. 37). Also $\frac{\times}{\text{TRP}[\cdot?]}$.

Valens. K. 7 (b) (C. 53). Also **TROBS** (B.M.). K. 8 (C. 85) diadem not stated. Not in K. (variant of C. 62) *A Victoria Augustorum*, Victory seated r. on arms, writing *tot X mult XX* on shield held up by Genius **TROBT** (*Riv. Ital.* 1914). K. 18 (C. 109). See on Val. I, K. 16 above. K. 23 (C. 4). Also **TRP**. (Reading Museum).

K. 24 (C. 11). Also $\frac{\psi}{\text{TRP}}$ (poor, but I think certain).

K. 25 (C. 47). Also $\frac{|}{\text{TRP}}$ (B.M.) $\frac{|}{\text{TRS}}$ (H.M. Office of Works), **TRS**.

Gratian. K. 6, 7 (C. 62, 63). See also Regling, *Dortmunder Fund*, Pl. II. 236. K. 18 (C. 86). See on Val. I, K. 16 above.

K. 20 (C. 56). Also **TRP-S** (*Num. Chron.*, 1906, p. 334).

K. 23 (C. 72). Also **TR** (*Num. Chron.*, 1915, p. 447).

K. 28 (C. 16). Also **TRP**.

Valentinian II. K. 2. Not = C. 13 which has no **IVN**.

Theodosius. K. 9, note 15. "Kranz" is a misprint for "Kreuz". K. 10 (C. 64). Not in B.M. with **SMTR**.

Maximus. K. 5 (C. 23). Also **MLTIS** (B.N.). K. 6 (C. 1). Also *rev.*, head l. K. 7 (C. 20). Also *obv.* **MA-X**. K. 8 (C. 3). Is not **MAC MAX-I** regular?

Arcadius. K. 2 (Sab. 25). Also with sceptre instead of spear (B.M.). K. 3 (not in Sabatier). Also with *rev.* division **R-I TRP** (Weymouth hoard).

Eugenius. K. 7. Not=C. 18 which is an *A* type.

Constantine III. K. 1 (C. 5). Is not **VICTORI**—regular?

In the useful conspectus of mints striking similar reverses for the same Emperors as Trier, I note one or two omissions. For Gratian *Æ*³ *virtus Romanorum* was struck also at Aquileia (B.M.) and Siscia (Zagreb); for Val. II *Æ* *Victoria Auggg.* also at Lyons (B.M.) and Aquileia (B.M.); *Æ* 2 *reparatio reipublicae* without *obv.* **IVN** at Trier (Alfoldi, *Untergang*, &c., p. 40—unless the query applies to the whole mint-mark and not to the last letter); and for Victor *Æ*⁴ *spes Romanorum* also at Rome (Weymouth hoard). The *Æ* *urbs Roma* struck at Siscia for Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian II are, in the few examples I have seen, all of the “throne”, not “cuirass” type, and are evidently a simultaneous issue. On the other hand, I have not met with the “throne” type (given for Valens) from Aquileia. The remark on Val. II *Æ*⁴ *Victoria Auggg.* “(ohne jun: nur Trev.)” appears to be a slip as the type occurs—always without **IVN**—at Lyons, Arles, and Siscia, and more rarely, at Rome and Aquileia. So, too, the remark that the *Securitas* type was not struck for Gratian at Lyons.

J. W. E. P.

Die Münzen Odovacars und des Ostgotenreiches in Italien.
by Dr. PHIL. F. F. KRAUS. Mit 16 Lichtdrucktafeln.
Pp. xv + 227. A. Riechmann & Co., Halle (Saale), 1928.
(Münzstudien V.).

The appearance of Dr. Kraus's book is much to be welcomed as a sign of a revival of interest in that difficult, but historically most important, period which followed the fall of the Roman Empire in the West. Our own Count de Salis was one of the first to recognize the interest and importance of those early barbarian issues, and his materials, so ably handled by Warwick Wroth in the British Museum Catalogue, have laid a foundation for all future work. English numismatists, then, are under a certain obligation to foster the advance of a study begun under such auspices.

Dr. Kraus, while duly acknowledging his debt to the work of Wroth, has handled his subject afresh and in his own way, has defined and stated many problems anew, and is not afraid, when need be, to stand by his own solution of them. Beginning with a full bibliography, he passes on to

consider, in a general introduction, the finances of the West, the money-systems of Odovocar and the Ostrogothic kings, legends, types, assignment to mints and rulers, and similar questions. Passing on to the main body of his work, he then sets out the coins under reigns, introduced in each case by historical and numismatic notes, with further notes on numismatic detail appended. The method seems to prove a happy one in its application here: the more advanced student will find a full statement of difficulties, with ample annotation in foot-notes, the less advanced will find the history sections helpful and will have no difficulty in tracking down the coins he wants. The plates supply full illustration and are decidedly good. There is no index—an omission, which can only partially be excused on the plea of cost: but it is only fair to add that the clear arrangement of the book lessens the need for one.

The problems of the period are peculiarly difficult and uncertain of solution, and need not be dealt with in detail in a general review. On the money-systems Dr. Kraus writes simply and well, and seems to be certainly right in recognizing in the Ostrogothic silver coins *siliqua* and half-*siliqua* instead of half- and quarter-piece. On the bronze coinage he is less satisfactory: 'denarius' and 'nummus' in the fifth century, even if sometimes confused, are not identical terms. But the main difficulties lie behind Dr. Kraus's period, and some little uncertainty about them does not seriously affect his own work.

We congratulate Dr. Kraus on a very scholarly work, and trust that it will not only find English readers, but will lure some English students to a study which, however difficult at first, clearly grows in interest the farther it is pursued.

H. M.

Coinage of Saorstát Éireann, 1928: Dublin. The Stationery Office, 1928. Pp. 65: XI Plates. 3s. 6d.

This handsome volume is the story by various hands of the institution of the coinage of the Irish Free State, with plates illustrating the designs submitted by the artists, who accepted the invitation of the committee appointed to consider the problem. The types were chosen by the committee as well as the lettering of the Irish legends—the value was also for public convenience to be marked in plain

figures. Mr. Percy Metcalfe's designs were accepted, as modified after consultation with officials of the Board of Agriculture, who did not think his original pig a sufficiently good advertisement for Irish bacon, and with the President of the Irish Wolf-Hound Club, who protested that a wolf-hound had a rough coat. It is evident from the excellent results obtained that the old proverb about "too many cooks" does not apply in Dublin.

The book with its conscious and unconscious humour is an unusual contribution to numismatic literature. Mr. W. B. Yeats opens it with a delightful account of the committee and its difficulties. Chapters on the history of Irish coinage and the Proceedings of the Committee are followed by brief biographies of the artists who sent in designs.

The Postscript is in some ways one of the most entertaining parts of the book, for it is a solemn refutation of the accusation that the types are pagan and "utterly unsuited for a Christian nation". Three arguments are used to confound these critics: (a) the coinage is really full of religious symbolism, (b) the coinage is not intended to have any religious symbolism, for no Christian state has ever had such coins, and (c) the only deliberately religious coinages are those of pagans.

This appears to have been the only objection to the coins. There seems to have been no protest at these symbols of the swadeshi movement being designed by a Yorkshireman and struck in London.

J. A.

How to Observe in Archaeology, Suggestions for Travellers in the Near and Middle East. Second Edition. London, 1929. British Museum. Pp. 120: numerous woodcuts. 2s. 6d.

The best tribute to the value of this little book of archaeological hints to travellers in the Near East is the fact that it has so soon gone out of print. The second edition has been revised and completely brought up to date. Mr. C. L. Woolley's chapter on method has been considerably expanded and the sections on Greece and Palestine have been rewritten. An interesting addition is the chapter by Mr. O. Davies on ancient mining and minerals. Recent work in Mesopotamia and in Palestine has resulted in notable additions to these sections. The book, which will be found of interest and use by all interested in antiquities, is exceedingly cheap, especially with so many illustrations.

J. A.

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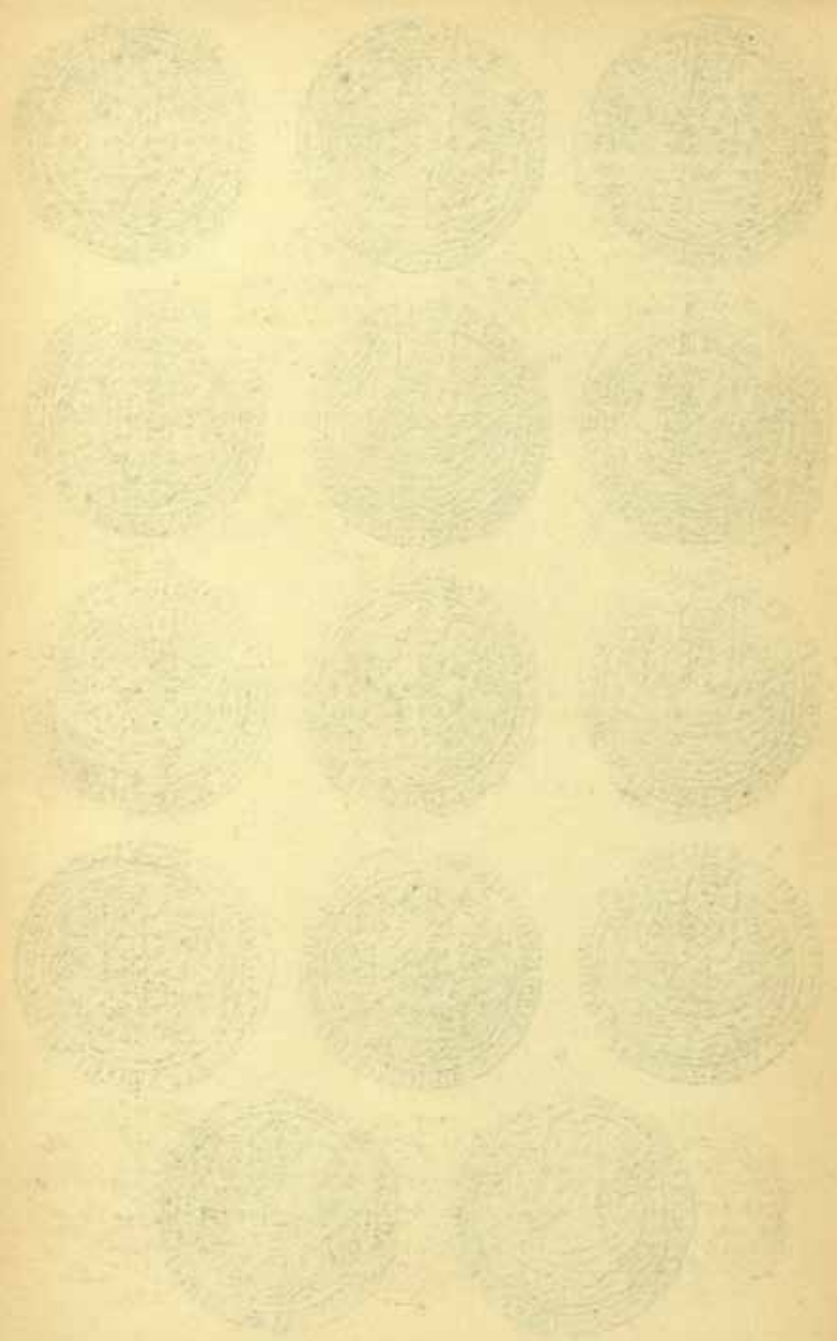


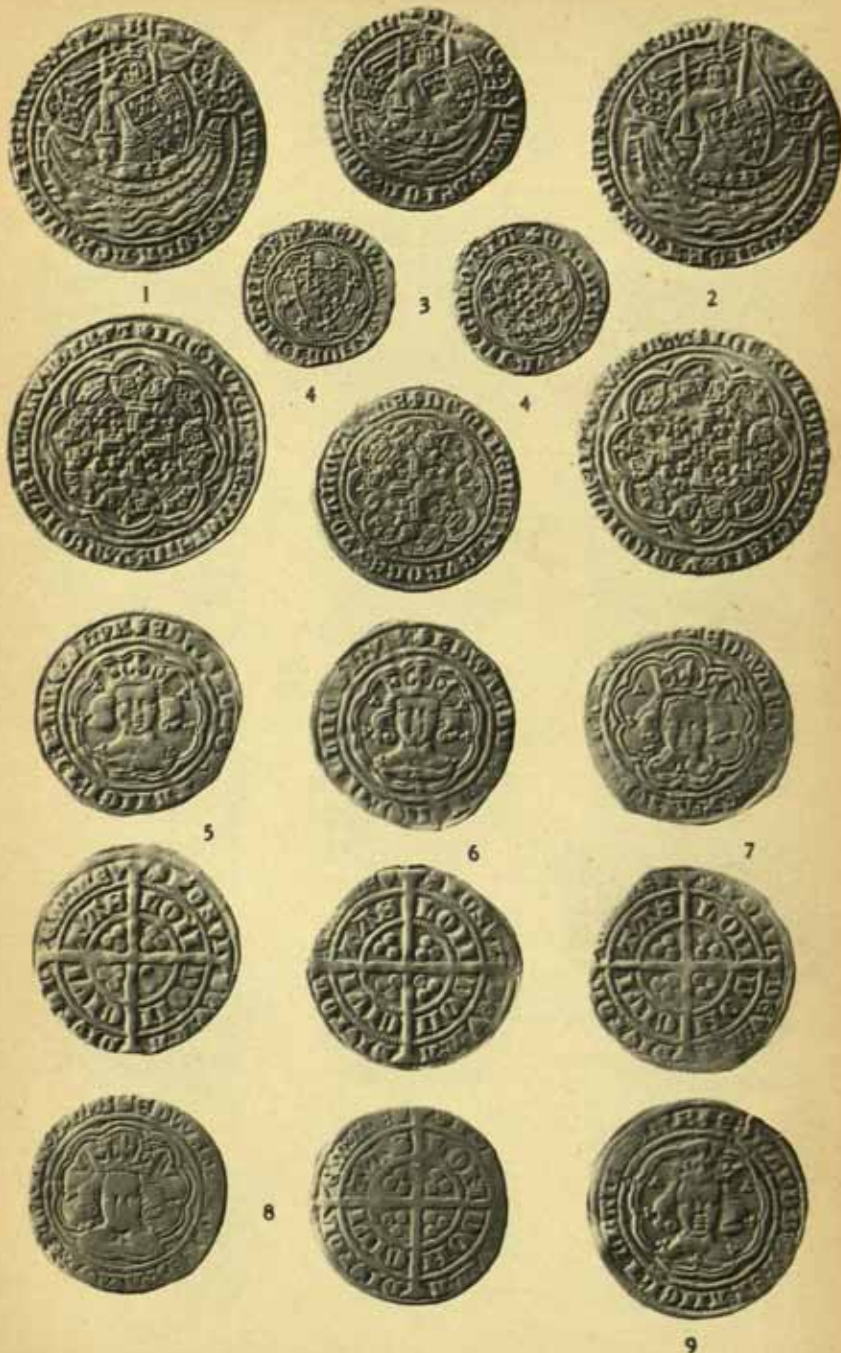
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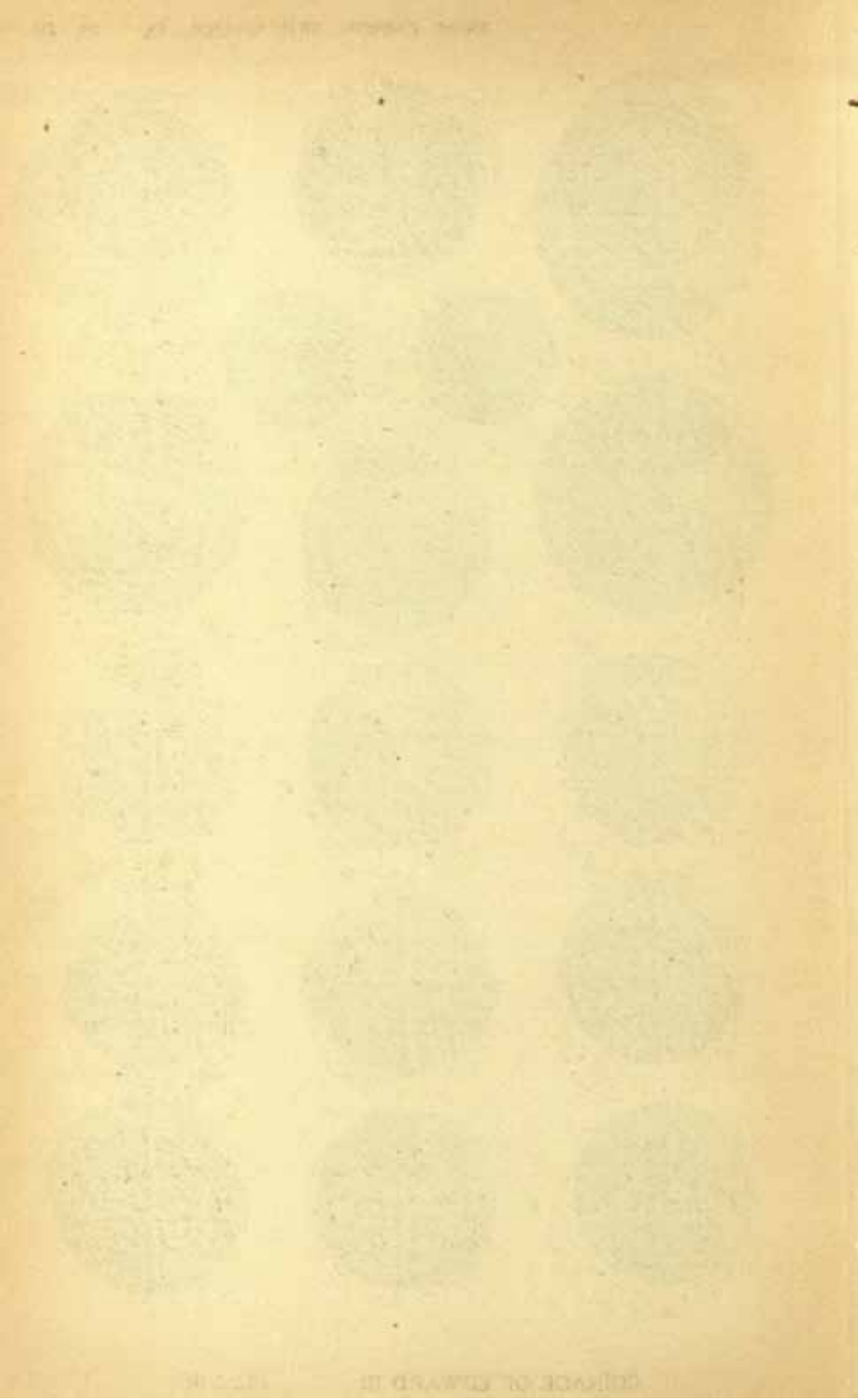


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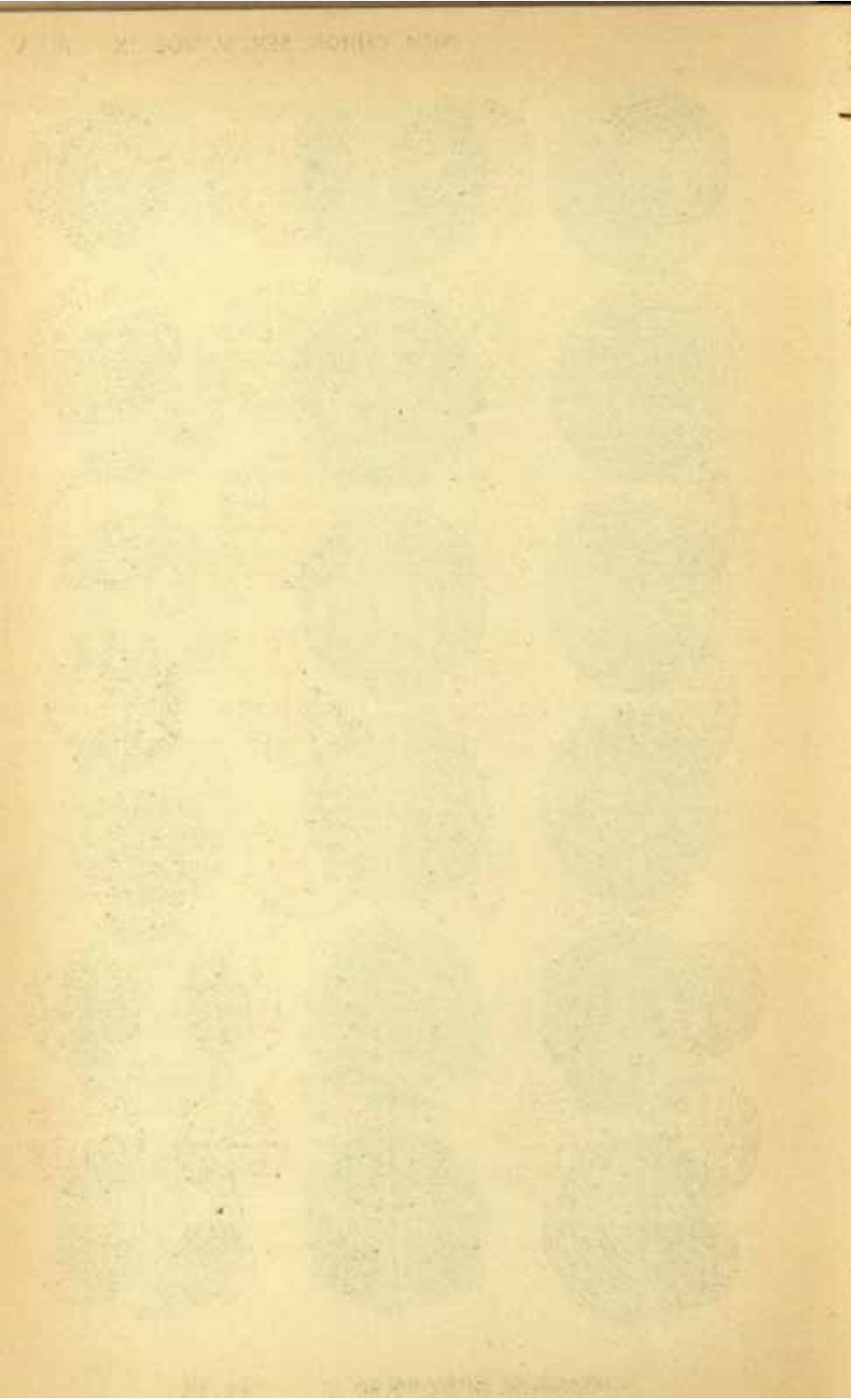


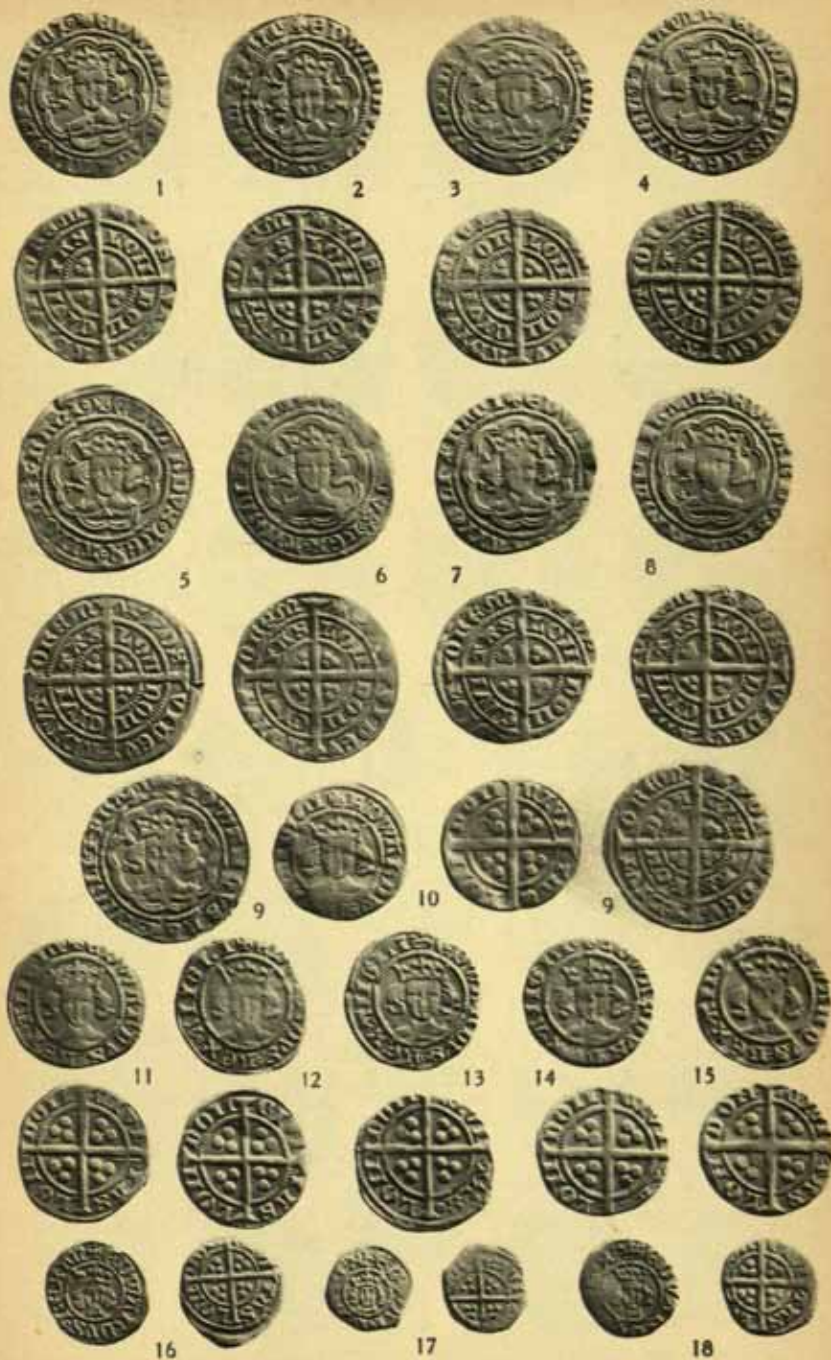
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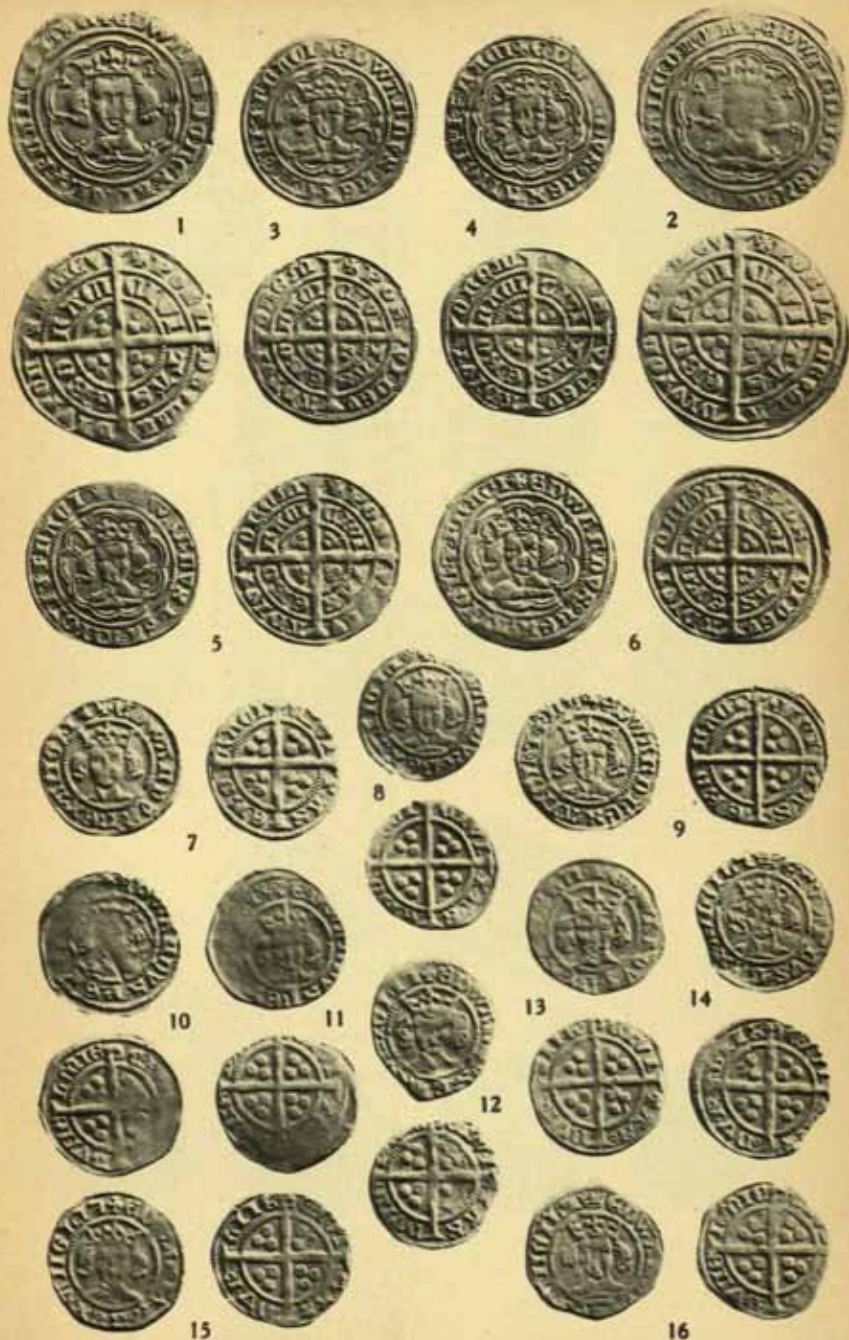


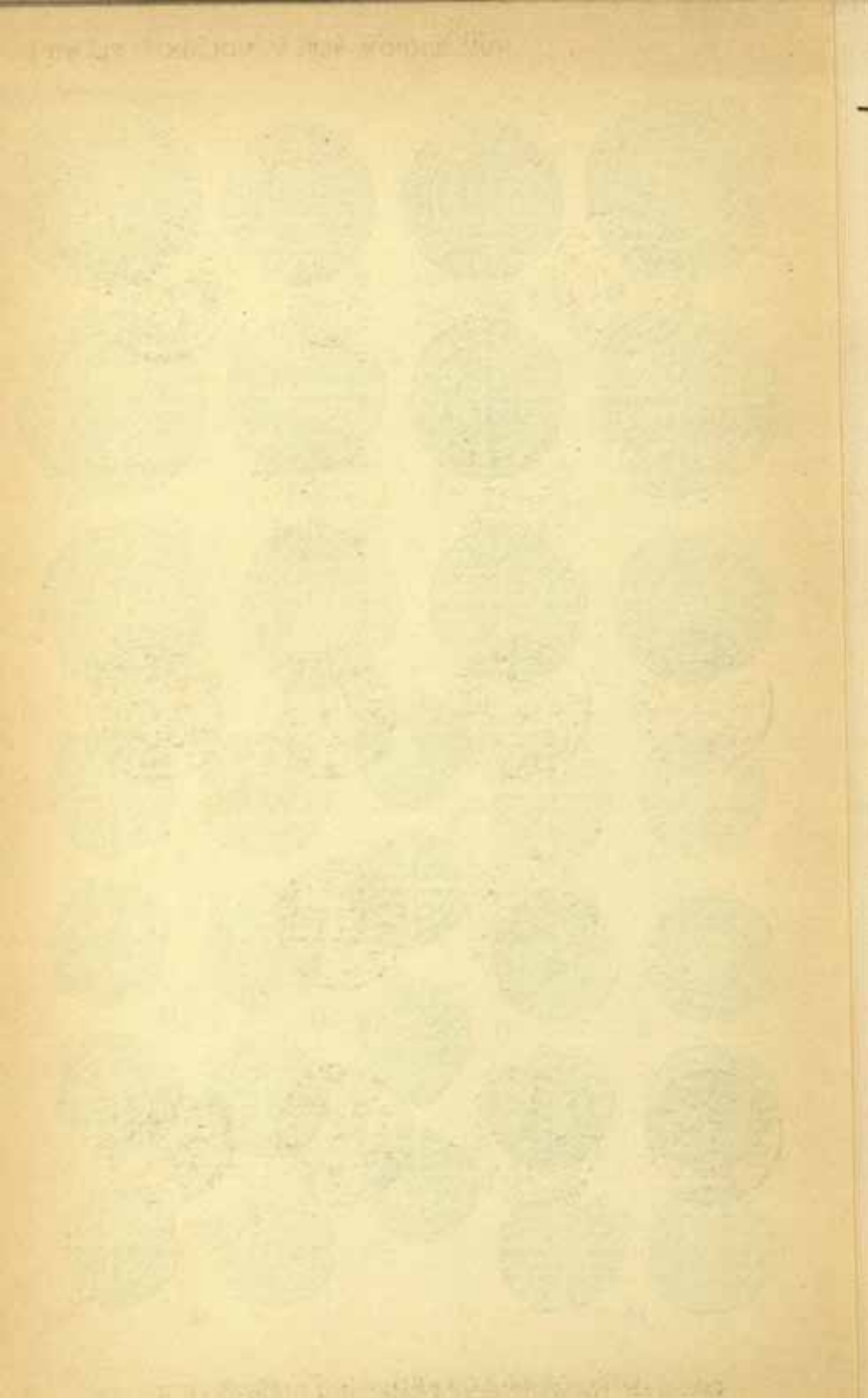
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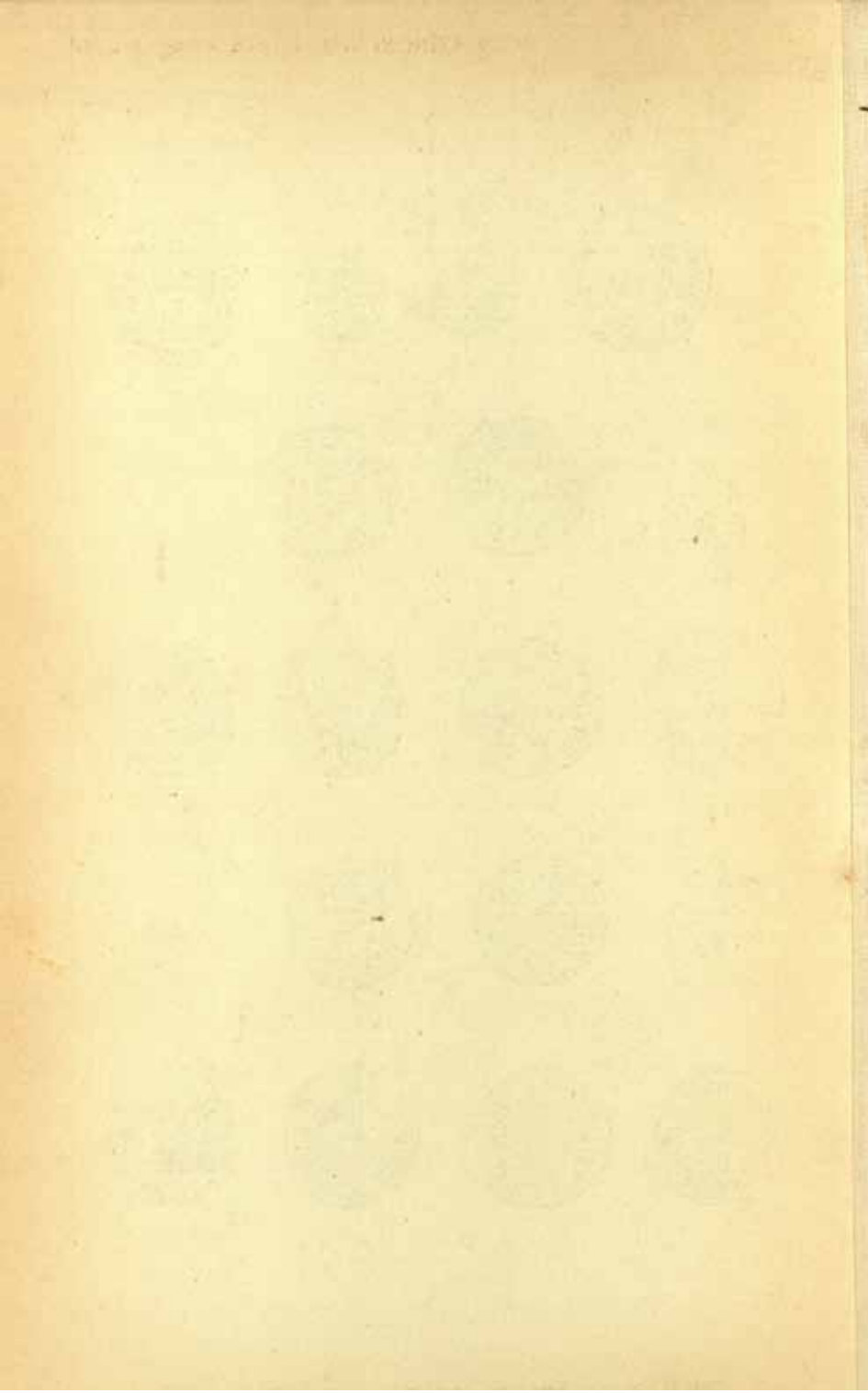


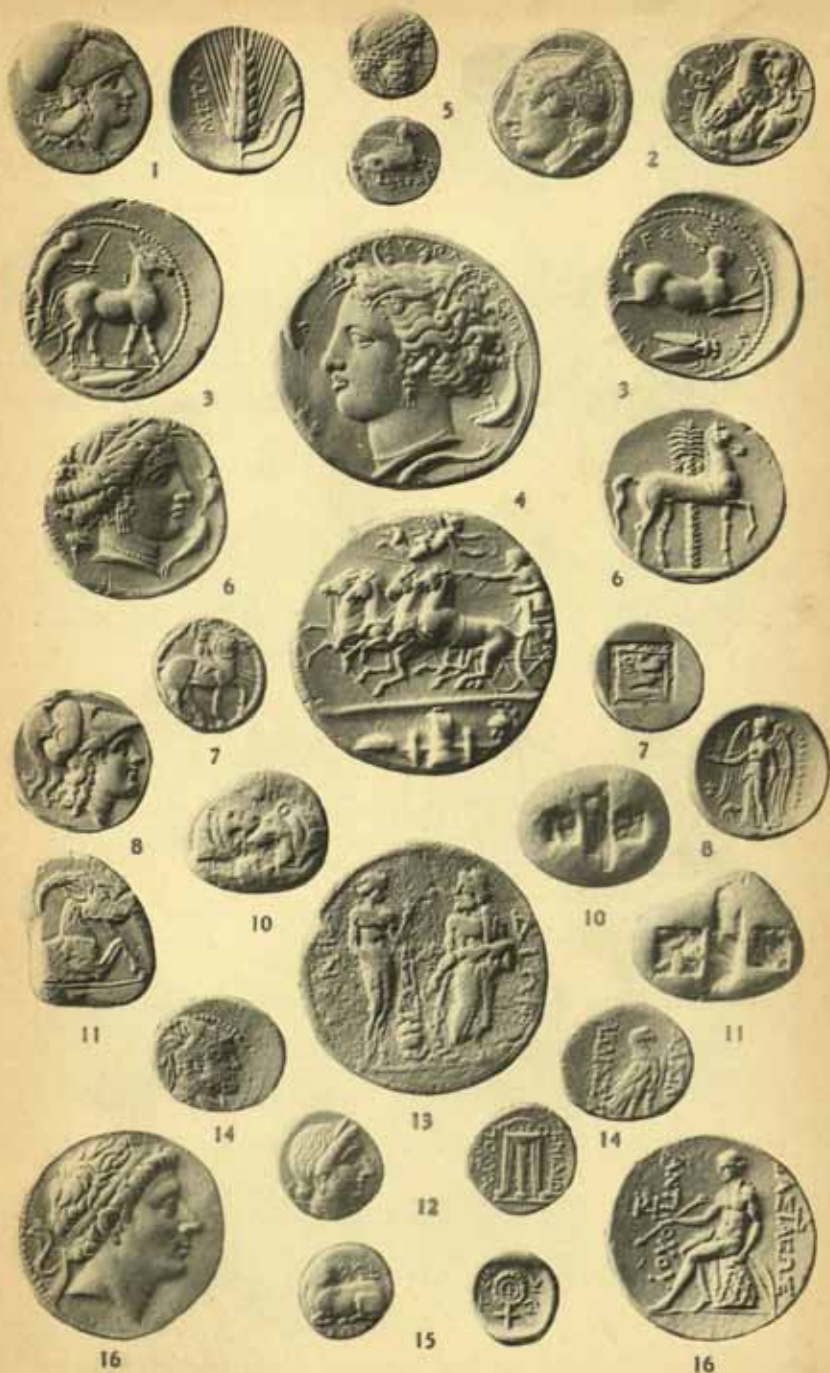
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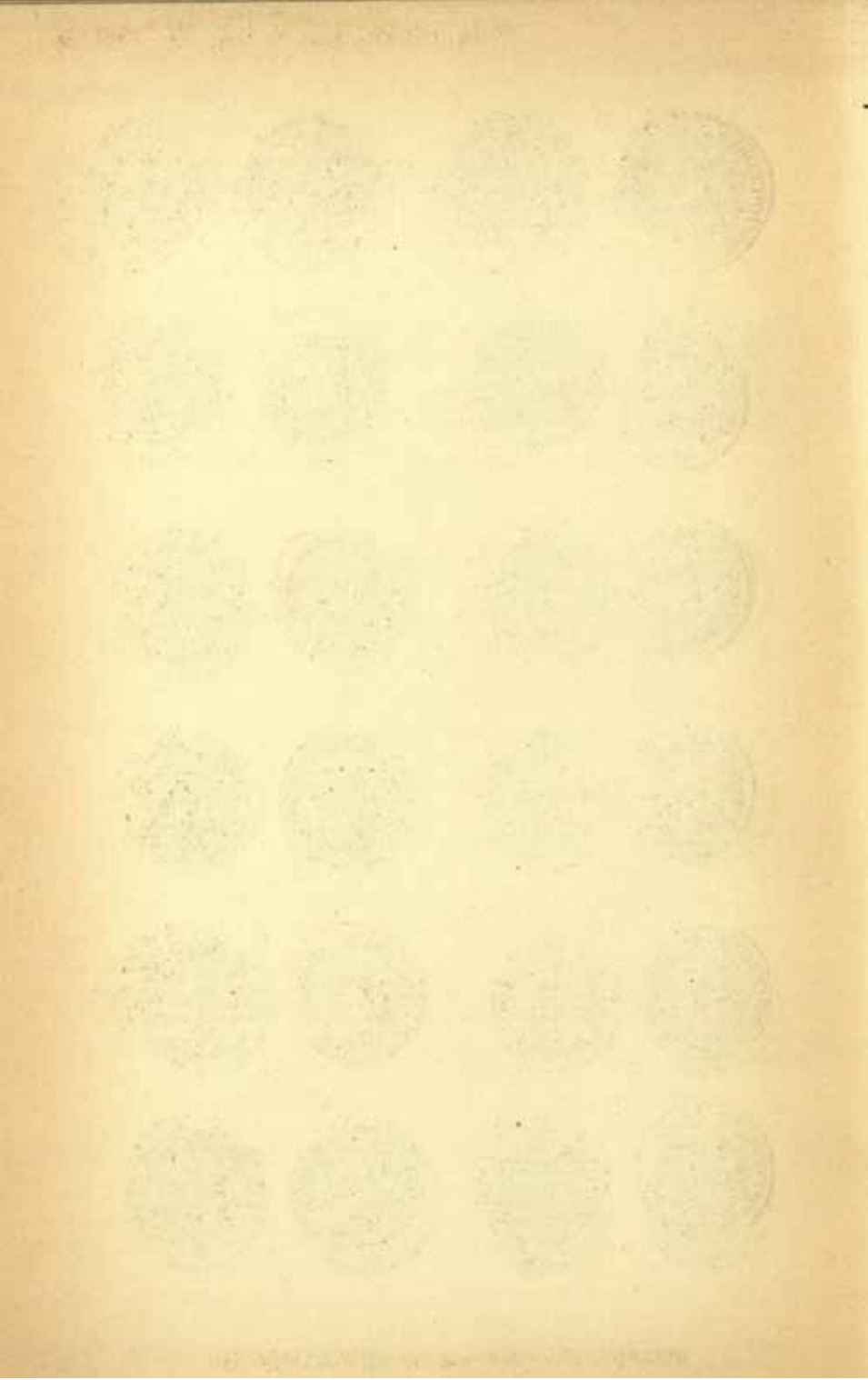


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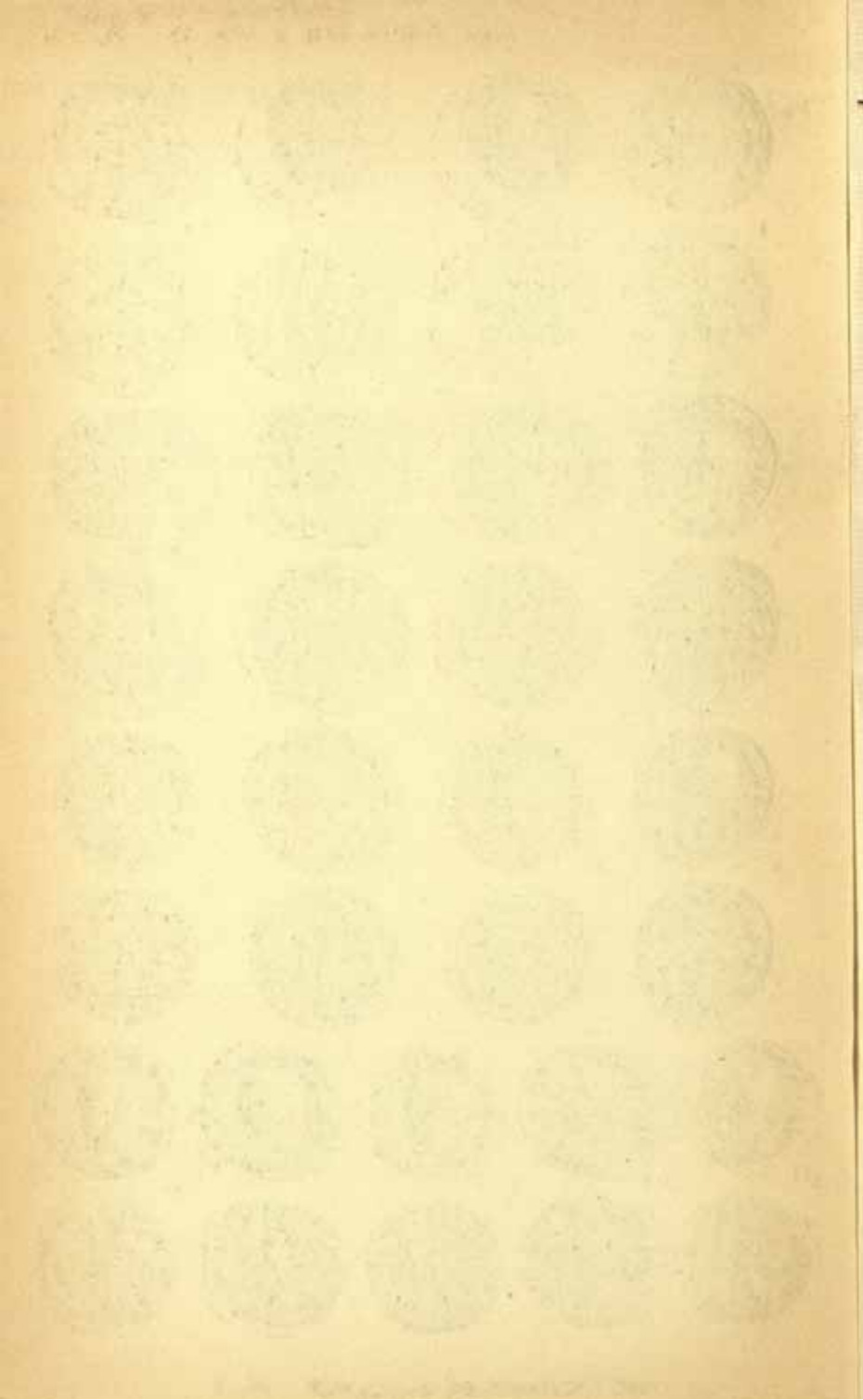
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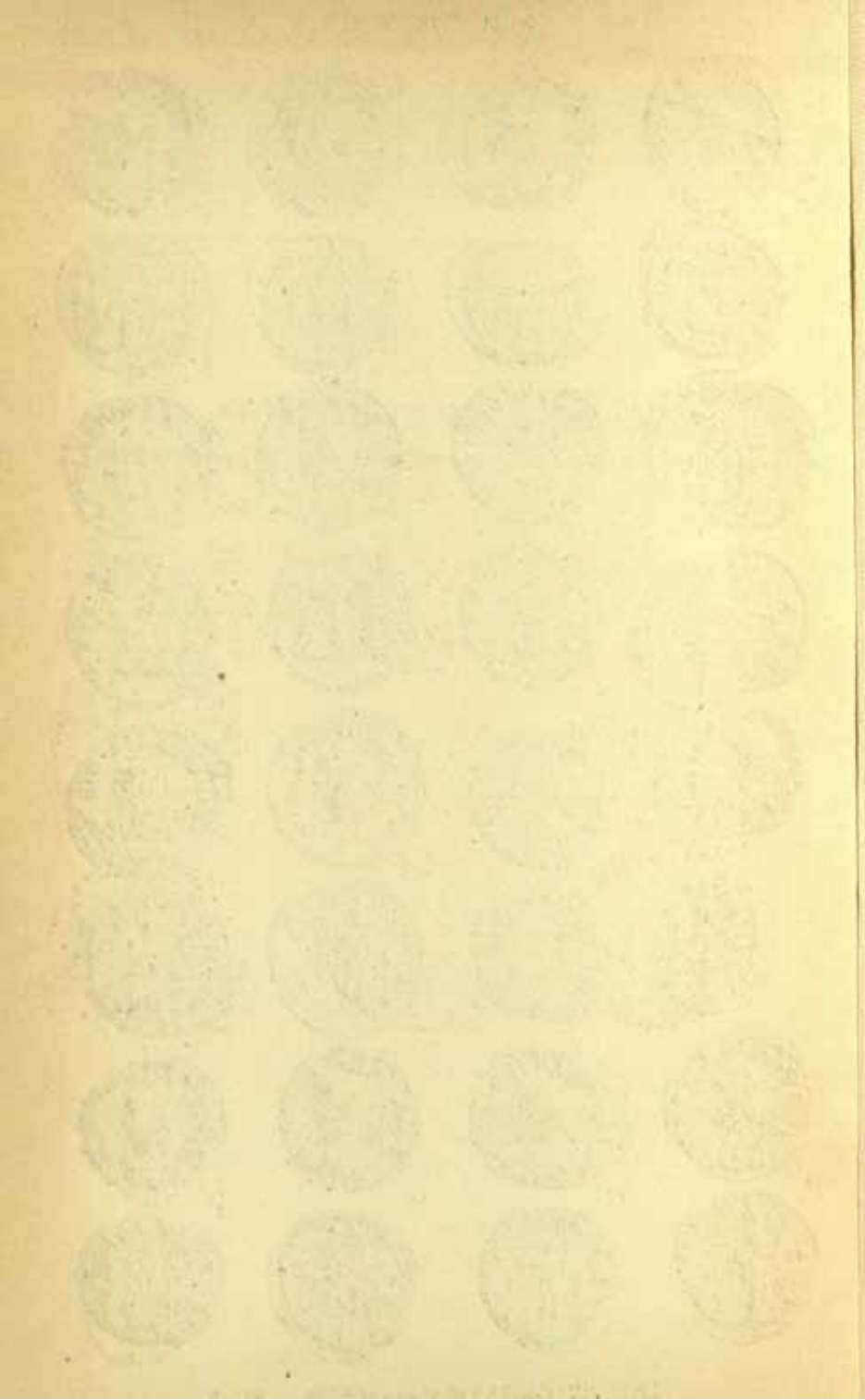


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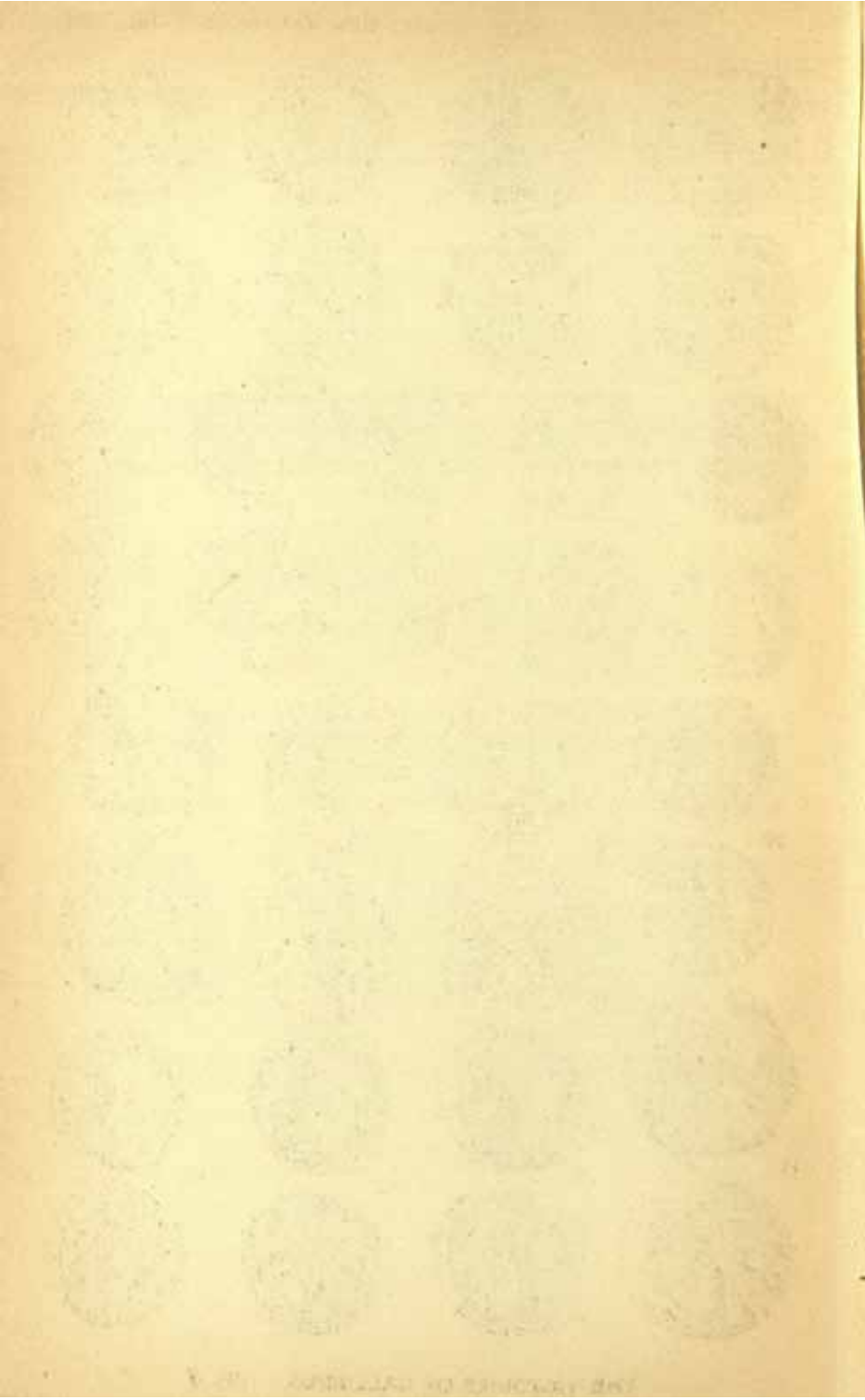








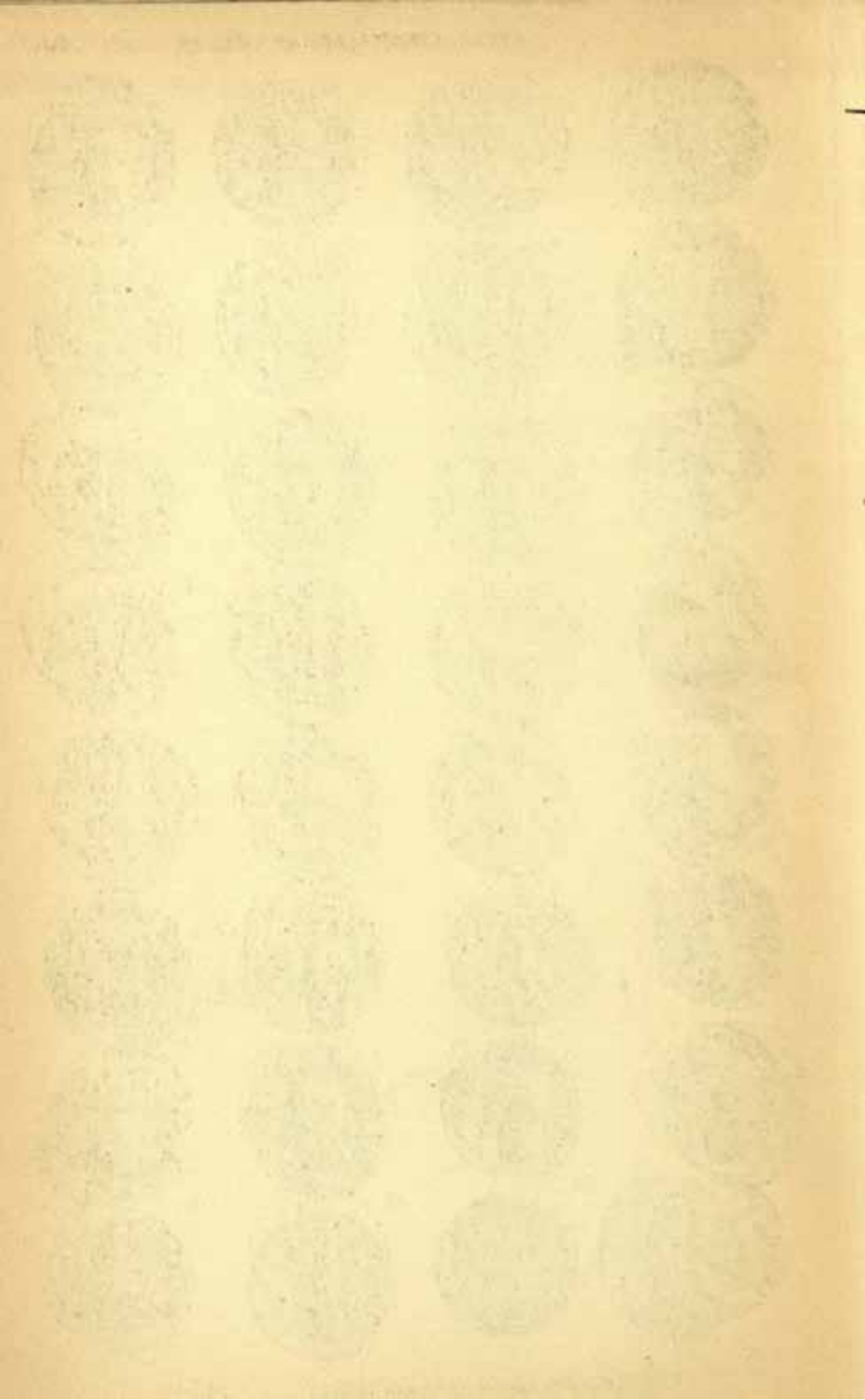






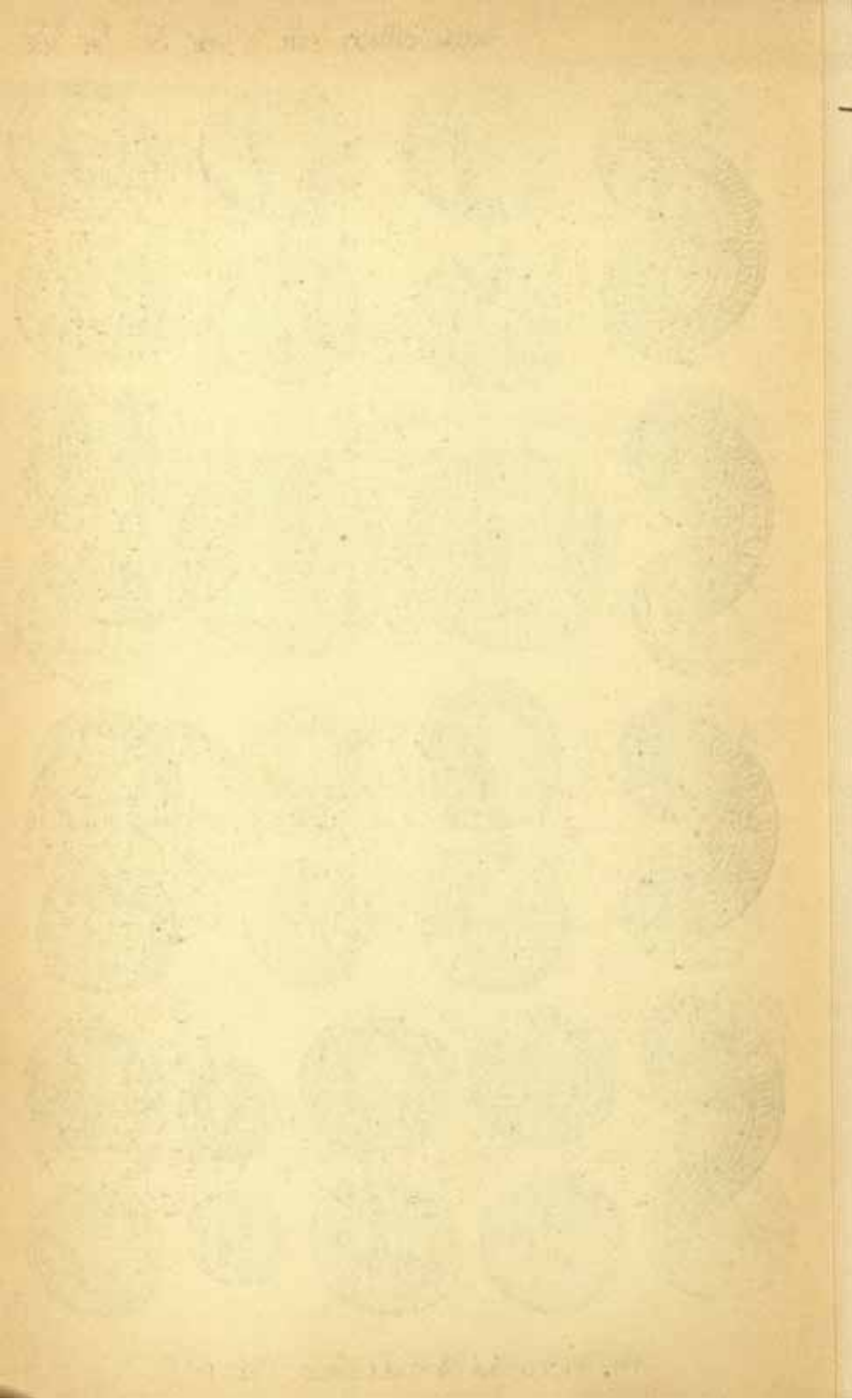














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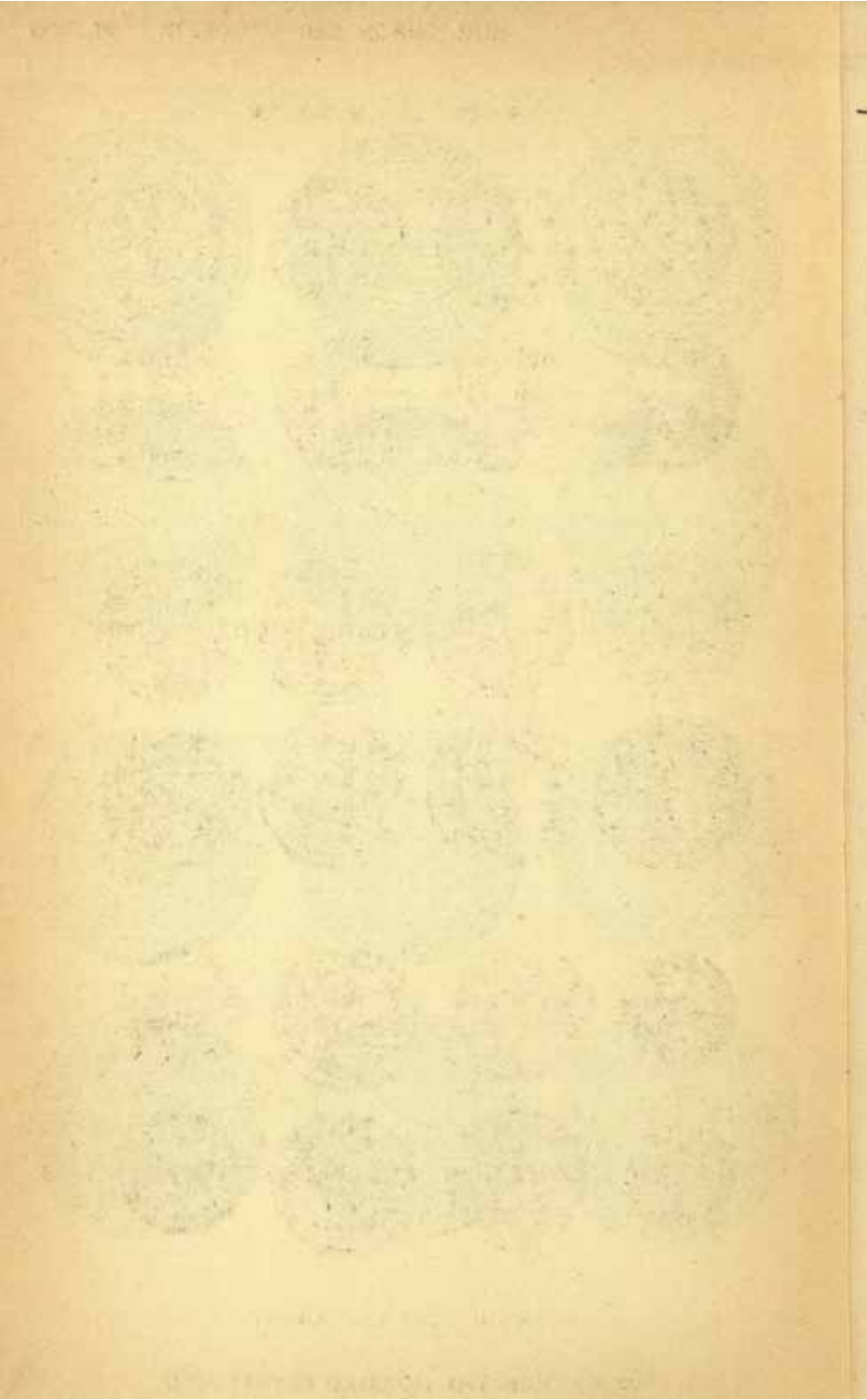
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- 1914 CROWTHER-BEYNON, V. B., Esq., M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.,
Westfield, Beckenham, Kent.
- 1926 DEACON, JAMES HUNT, Numismatic Section, The Art
Gallery, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1922 DEE, JOSEPH P., Esq., M.D., Barnard Lea, Walton-on-the-Naze.
- 1922 DICKSON, REV. W. H. FANE, Gorsley Vicarage, Gloucester.
- 1919 DRABBLE, G. C., Esq., Los Altos, Sandown, Isle of Wight.
- 1911 DRUCE, HUBERT A., Esq., Sandesfoot House, Wyke Regis,
Weymouth.
- 1928 DUNCAN, C. F., Esq., The Orchard, Staines.
- 1920 EDWARDS, CARL, Esq., Woodlesford, Leeds.
- 1905 EGGER, HERR ARMIN, 7 Opernring, Vienna.
- 1918 EIDLITZ, ROBERT JAMES, Esq., 755 Park Avenue, New
York, U.S.A.
- 1893 ELLIOTT, E.A., Esq., 41 Chapel Park Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
- 1920 EMPEDOCLES, G., Esq., 34 Academy Street, Athens, Greece.
- 1872 *EVANS, SIR ARTHUR J., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., Ph.D.,
F.R.S., Hon. V.-P.S.A., F.B.A., Corr. de l'Inst., Youlbury,
near Oxford, *Vice-President*.
- 1892 *EVANS, LADY, M.A. (Oxon.), 9 Kensington Park Gardens,
W. 11, *Foreign Secretary*.
- 1905 FAIRBAIRN, SIDNEY H., Esq., M.A., M.D., 11 Bolton Gardens,
S.W. 10.
- 1904 *FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN, 16 Lowndes Street, S.W. 1.
- 1921 FAULKNER, W. J., Esq., Sutton House, Endon, Stoke-on-
Trent.

ELECTED

- 1902 FENTIMAN, HARRY, Esq., Murray House, Murray Road, Ealing Park, W. 5.
- 1910 FISHER LIBRARY, THE, University, Sydney, N.S.W.
- 1908 FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, The Curator, Cambridge.
- 1901 FLETCHER, LIONEL LAWFORD, Esq., Norwood Lodge, Tupwood, Caterham.
- 1915 FLORENCE, R. Museo Archeologico of, Italy.
- 1898 FORRER, L., Esq., Helvetia, 14 Homefield Road, Bromley, Kent.
- 1928 FORRER, L., Esq., JUNR., Fair Mead, Bayham Road, Sevenoaks, Kent.
- 1894 *FOSTER, JOHN ARMSTRONG, Esq., F.Z.S., Chestwood, near Barnstaple.
- 1896 *FRY, CLAUDE BASIL, Esq., Hannington Hall, Highworth, Wilts.
- 1897 *GANS, LEOPOLD, Esq., 207 Maddison Street, Chicago, U.S.A.
- 1912 GANTZ, REV. W. L., M.A., C.F., 22 Langbourne Mansions, N.6.
- 1871 GARDNER, PROF. PERCY, M.A., D.Litt., Litt.D., LL.D., F.S.A., F.B.A., 12 Canterbury Road, Oxford.
- 1907 GARDNER, WILLOUGHBY, Esq., D.Sc., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.L.S., Y Berlfa, Deganwy, North Wales.
- 1889 GARSIDE, HENRY, Esq., 46 Queen's Road, Teddington, Middlesex.
- 1928 GAVIN, REV. CANON GORDON HAY, The Vicarage, Waitara, Taranaki, New Zealand.
- 1913 GILBERT, WILLIAM, Esq., M.S.A., 74 Broad Street Avenue, E.C. 2.
- 1916 GILLIES, WILLIAM, Esq., 204 West George Street, Glasgow.
- 1922 GILLINGHAM, HARROLD E., Esq., 432 West Price St., Philadelphia, U.S.A.
- 1920 GINORI, MARCHESE ROBERTO VENTURI, 75 Via della Scala, Florence, Italy.
- 1906 GLOUCESTER, THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF, The Palace, Gloucester.
- 1894 GOODACRE, HUGH, Esq., Ullesthorpe Court, Lutterworth, Leicestershire.
- 1904 GRAHAM, T. HENRY BOILEAU, Esq., F.S.A., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
- 1891 *GRANTLEY, LORD, D.L., J.P., F.S.A., Weeke Manor, Winchester, Hants.
- 1914 GROSE, S. W., Esq., M.A., 18 Hobson Street, Cambridge.
- 1910 GUNN, WILLIAM, Esq., 19 Swan Road, Harrogate.

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- 1920 GUNTHER, CHARLES GODFREY, Esq., c/o Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
- 1916 HAINES, GEOFFREY COLTON, Esq., Green Gable, Balmuir Gardens, S.W. 15.
- 1899 HALL, HENRY PLATT, Esq., Pentreheylin Hall, Llanymynech, Montgomeryshire.
- 1912 HARDING, NEWTON H., Esq., 110 Pine Avenue, Chicago, U.S.A.
- 1917 †HARRIS, B. WILFRED, Esq., Lynwood, Boldmere, Erdington.
- 1904 HARRIS, EDWARD BOSWORTH, Esq., 5 Sussex Place, N.W. 1.
- 1904 HARRISON, FREDERICK A., Esq., F.Z.S., Sunnyside, Fourth Avenue, Frinton-on-Sea.
- 1916 *HART, R. EDWARD, Esq., M.A., Brooklands, Blackburn.
- 1914 HAYES, HERBERT E. E., Esq., C.M.S. House, Menouf, Egypt.
- 1928 HAYTER, G. C. F., Esq., B.A., F.S.A., 39 Netherhall Gardens, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
- 1886 *HENDERSON, JAMES STEWART, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.S.L., M.C.P., 1 Pond Street, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
- 1929 HERRICK, FREDERICK M., Esq., 43 Exchange Place, New York, U.S.A.
- 1900 HEWLETT, LIONEL M., Esq., Greenbank, Byron Hill, Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex.
- 1898 HILL, CHARLES WILSON, Esq. (address not known).
- 1893 HILL, GEORGE FRANCIS, Esq., C.B., M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., F.B.A., *Keeper of Coins*, British Museum, W.C. 1, *Vice-President*.
- 1895 HODGE, THOMAS, Esq., Fyning House, Rogate, Petersfield, Hants.
- 1920 *HOLROYD, MICHAEL, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Brasenose College, Oxford.
- 1921 HUBBARD, WING-COMMANDER T. O'BRIEN, M.C., R.A.F., Hinnaidi, Irak.
- 1908 *HUNTINGTON, ARCHER M., Esq., Governor of the American Numismatic Society, Audubon Park, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
- 1922 JAMESON, M. R., 38 Rue de Provence, Paris.
- 1922 JOHNSON, COLONEL SIR ROBERT A., K.B.E., T.D., M.A., Deputy Master, The Royal Mint, E. 1.
- 1911 JOHNSTON, LEONARD P., Esq., The Cottage, Warningcamp, Arundel, Sussex.
- 1911 JONES, FREDERICK WILLIAM, Esq., 22 Ramshill Road, Scarborough.
- 1926 KENT NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, Brewer Street, Maidstone.
- 1874 *KENYON, R. LLOYD, Esq., M.A., J.P., D.L., Pradoc, West Felton, Salop.

ELECTED

- 1914 *KERR, ROBERT, Esq., M.A., Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.
- 1920 KING, COLONEL E. J., C.M.G., The Old House, East End Road, N. 2.
- 1901 KOZMINSKY, DR. ISIDORE, 20 Queen Street, Kew, near Melbourne, Victoria.
- 1928 KRAUS, DR. FRANZ FERDINAND, 1 Friedensallee, Brunswick.
- 1922 KRISHNA IYENGAR, PROF. M. H., M.A., D.Litt., M.R.A.S., The University, Madras.
- 1917 LAMB, MISS WINIFRED, Holly Lodge, Campden Hill, W. 8.
- 1920 LAST, H. M., Esq., M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
- 1910 LAUGHLIN, DR. W. A., M.A. (address not known).
- 1885 *LAWRENCE, L. A., Esq., F.S.A., 44 Belsize Square, N.W. 3, *Librarian*.
- 1883 *LAWRENCE, RICHARD HOE, Esq., Fifth Avenue Bank, New York, U.S.A.
- 1920 LEWIS, JOHN CAMPBELL, Esq., Bridge House, Troedyrhiw, Merthyr Tydfil.
- 1922 LLOYD, ALBERT H., Esq., Ph.D., F.S.A., St. John's House, 73 Grange Road, Cambridge.
- 1922 *LLOYD, MISS MURIEL ELEANOR HAYDON, St. John's House, 73 Grange Road, Cambridge.
- 1907 LOCKETT, RICHARD CYRIL, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., 58 Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.
- 1911 LONGMAN, W., Esq., F.S.A., 27 Norfolk Square, W. 2.
- 1924 DE LOREY, M. EUSTACHE, Institut Français, Damascus, Syria.
- 1921 LUCKNOW MUSEUM, The Curator of the, Lucknow, India.
- 1893 LUND, H. M., Esq., Waitara, Taranaki, New Zealand.
- 1895 MACDONALD, SIR GEORGE, K.C.B., M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., 17 Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh.
- 1901 MACFADYEN, FRANK E., Esq., 17 St. George's Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- 1923 MALLINSON, REV. ARNOLD, 2 Abbey Road, Oxford.
- 1927 MARTIN, GEORGE CASTOR, Esq., Rockport, Texas, U.S.A.
- 1912 MATTINGLY, HAROLD, Esq., M.A., British Museum, W.C. 1.
- 1905 MAVROGORDATO, J., Esq., Gilridge, Cowden Pound, Edenbridge, Kent.
- 1921 MAVROJANI, CAPTAIN S., M.A., B.C.L., Clyro Court, Clyro, Hereford.
- 1901 McDOWALL, REV. STEWART A., 5 Kingsgate Street, Winchester.
- 1905 McEWEN, HUGH DRUMMOND, Esq., 13 Lovelace Road, West Dulwich, S.E. 21.

ELECTED

- 1929 McNICKLE, A. J. S., Esq., c/o Royal Mail Steam Packet Co.,
Royal Mail House, E.C. 2.
- 1916 MEIGH, ALFRED, Esq., Dole Spring House, Forsbrook,
Stoke-on-Trent.
- 1905 MESSENGER, LEOPOLD G. P., Esq., 151 Brecknock Road,
Tufnell Park, N. 19.
- 1928 MIDDLETON, LAWRENCE H., Esq., 49 Queen's Road, N.W. 8.
- 1929 MILBANK, S. R., Esq., Panfield, Huntingdon, New York, U.S.A.
- 1924 MILLER, HOYT, Esq., East Shore Road, Great Neck, Long
Island, New York, U.S.A.
- 1897 MILNE, J. GRAFTON, Esq., M.A., 20 Bardwell Road, Oxford.
- 1921 MILNE, MRS. J. GRAFTON, 20 Bardwell Road, Oxford.
- 1910 MITCHELL LIBRARY, THE, Glasgow, The Librarian.
- 1898 *MONCKTON, HORACE W., Esq., F.L.S., F.G.S., 3 Harcourt
Buildings, Temple, E.C. 4, and Whiteclairn, Wellington
College Station, Berks.
- 1920 MONTAGU, ALFRED C., Esq., 8 Essex Villas, W. 8.
- 1888 MONTAGUE, LIEUT.-COL. L. A. D., Penton, near Crediton,
Devon.
- 1905 MOORE, WILLIAM HENRY, Esq. (address not known).
- 1879 MORRIESEN, LIEUT.-COL. H. W., F.S.A., F.R.S.A., 42 Beaufort
Gardens, S.W. 3, *Honorary Secretary*.
- 1904 MOULD, RICHARD W., Esq., Newington Public Library,
Walworth Road, S.E. 17.
- 1916 *MYLNE, EVERARD, Esq. (address not known).
- 1909 NAGG, STEPHEN K., Esq., 1621 Master Street, Philadelphia,
U.S.A.
- 1928 *NAVILLE, MONSIEUR LUCIEN, 5-7 Rue Lévrier, Geneva.
- 1906 NEWBERRY LIBRARY, The Librarian, Chicago, U.S.A.
- 1905 *NEWELL, E. T., Esq., President of the American Numismatic
Society, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York,
U.S.A.
- 1924 NORDHEIM, E., Esq., 86 Heimbuderstrasse, Hamburg.
- 1916 OGLE, CHRISTOPHER, Esq., M.A., Austin Friars House, E.C. 2.
- 1897 *O'HAGAN, HENRY OSBORNE, Esq., Riverhome, Hampton
Court.
- 1882 OMAN, PROF. SIR CHARLES, M.P., K.B.E., M.A., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., All Souls College, Oxford, *President*.
- 1925 OMAN, CHARLES CHICHELE, Esq., M.A., Victoria and Albert
Museum, S.W. 7.

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- 1911 OPPENHEIMER, HENRY, Esq., F.S.A., 9 Kensington Palace Gardens, W. 8.
- 1904 ORBELIANI, COL. PRINCE ROMAN, F.R.G.S., Empire Trust Co., 580 Fifth Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1922 PAKENHAM, IVO R. R. L., Esq., St. James' Club, 106 Piccadilly, W. 1.
- 1903 PARSONS, H. ALEXANDER, Esq., Dalmauir, Cedar Avenue, Rickmansworth.
- 1926 PEARCE, J. W. E., Esq., M.A., 10 Cromwell Place, S.W. 1.
- 1917 PHIPPS, LIEUT.-COL. P. RAMSAY, F.R.G.S., 17 St. James's Court, S.W. 1.
- 1927 PINCHES, JOHN ROBERT, Esq., 21 Albert Embankment, S.E. 11.
- 1928 PIRIE GORDON, H., Esq., D.S.C., M.A., 46 Addison Avenue, W. 11.
- 1927 POND, SHEPARD, Esq., 258 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1915 POYSER, A. W., Esq., M.A., 64 Highfield Street, Leicester.
- 1923 PRAGUE, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Czecho-Slovakia.
- 1903 PRICE, HARRY, Esq., Arun Bank, Pulborough, Sussex.
- 1911 PRICHARD, A. H. COOPER, Esq. (address not known).
- 1913 RAO, K. ANANTASAMI, Esq., Curator of the Government Museum, Bangalore, India.
- 1890 RAPSON, PROF. F. J., M.A., M.R.A.S., 8 Mortimer Road, Cambridge.
- 1923 RAVEL, MONSIEUR O., 7 Bd. de Lorraine, Pointe Rouge, Marseilles.
- 1909 RAYMOND, WAYTE, Esq., 489 Park Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1903 REGAN, W. H., Esq., 17 Queen's Road, Bayswater, W. 2.
- 1876 *ROBERTSON, J. DRUMMOND, Esq., M.A., Comrie Lodge, Higher Warberry Road, Torquay.
- 1911 *ROBINSON, E. S. G., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 23 Upper Phillimore Gardens, W. 8.
- 1910 ROGERS, REV. EDGAR, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., 5 Essex Villas, W. 8.
- 1928 ROGERS, KENNETH, Esq., O.B.E., M.D., Namouna, 25 West-cliff Road, Bournemouth.
- 1919 ROSE, EDWARD E. PILKINGTON, Esq., I.C.S., Loughton, Essex.
- 1924 ROWE, CAPTAIN FRANCIS G. C., Ebrington Barracks, Londonderry.

ELECTED

- 1903 RUBEN, PAUL, Esq., Ph.D., Alte Rabenstrasse 8, Hamburg, Germany.
- 1919 RYAN, V. J. E., Esq., Le Grand Hôtel, Montreux-Territet, Switzerland.
- 1916 SAINT LOUIS NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
- 1872 *SALAS, MIGUEL T., Esq., 247 Florida Street, Buenos Ayres.
- 1916 *SALISBURY, F. S., Esq., M.A., Dorset House, Parkland Grove, Ashford, Middlesex.
- 1919 SAVAGE, W. LISLE, Esq., 11 Faith Street, Maidstone, Kent.
- 1917 SEABY, B. A., Esq., Oxford Circus House, W. 1.
- 1907 *SELTMAN, CHARLES T., Esq., M.A., 39 Barton Road, Cambridge.
- 1890 SELTMAN, E. J., Esq., Villa Maria, S. Giorgio a Cremano, Naples.
- 1913 SHIRLEY-FOX, J. S., Esq., R.B.A., 3 Lansdown Crescent, Bath.
- 1896 SIMPSON, C. E., Esq. (address not known).
- 1893 *SIMS, BRIG.-GENERAL R. F. MANLEY, C.M.G., D.S.O. 163 Strand, W.C. 2.
- 1896 SINHA, KUMVAR KUSHAL PAL, M.A., RAIS OF KOTLA, Kotla, Agra, India.
- 1918 *SLIGO, THE MARQUESS OF, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., 7 Upper Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.
- 1905 SNELLING, EDWARD, Esq., 26 Silver Street, E.C. 2.
- 1909 SOUTZO, M. MICHEL, 8 Strada Romana, Bucharest.
- 1922 SPENCER-CHURCHILL, CAPT. E. G., M.C., F.S.A., Northwick Park, Blockley, Worcestershire.
- 1925 SPINK, MARTIN S., Esq., B.A., 5-7 King Street, S.W. 1.
- 1894 SPINK, SAMUEL M., Esq., 5-7 King Street, S.W. 1.
- 1902 STAINER, CHARLES LEWIS, Esq., Woodhouse, Ilfley, Oxford.
- 1922 STARKEY, W. BEAMONT, Esq., Lyonsdown, Ilfracombe.
- 1928 STEBBING, W. P. D., Esq., F.S.A., Fiveways, Deal.
- 1914 *STREATFEILD, MRS. SYDNEY, 22 Park Street, W. 1.
- 1910 SUTCLIFFE, ROBERT, Esq., 21 Market Street, Burnley, Lancs.
- 1914 SYDENHAM, REV. EDWARD A., M.A., The Vicarage, West Molesey, Surrey.
- 1885 SYMONDS, HENRY, Esq., F.S.A., 19 Ellenborough Park N., Weston-super-Mare.

ELECTED

- 1896 *TAPPS, H. W., Esq., 35 Greenholm Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.
 1879 TALBOT, COL. THE HON. MILO G., C.B., Bifrons, Canterbury.
 1919 TARAPOREVALA, VICAJI D. B., Esq., 190 Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
 1917 TAYLOR, GLEN A., Esq., F.S.A., 63 Lewis Road, Neath, Glamorgan.
 1887 THAIRLWALL, F. J., Esq., 12 Upper Park Road, N.W. 3.
 1925 THOMAS, CECIL, Esq., 7 Gloucester Terrace, S.W. 7.
 1920 THOMAS, J. ROCHELLE, Esq., Elm House, Ellison Road, S.W. 13.
 1918 THOREBURN, PHILIP, Esq., B.A., 49 South Side, Clapham Common, S.W. 4.
 1929 TORONTO, University of, The Librarian, Canada.
 1894 TRIGGS, A. B., Esq., 33 Macquarie Place, Sydney, New South Wales.
 1912 VAN BUREN, DR. A. W., American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome.
 1916 VANES, REV. J. A., Morton House, Cheddleton, Leek, Staffs.
 1899 VLASTO, MICHEL P., Esq., 12 Allée Léon Gambetta, Marseilles, France.
 1923 WALES, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF, Cardiff.
 1883 WALKER, R. K., Esq., M.A., J.P., Watergate, Meath Road, Bray, Ireland.
 1924 WALLWORTH, I. N. G., Esq., Fairbanks, Stanley Park Road, Carshalton.
 1897 WALTERS, FREDK. A., Esq., F.S.A., 28 Great Ormonde Street, W.C. 1, and St. Mildred's, Temple Ewell, Dover.
 1911 WARRE, FELIX W., Esq., O.B.E., M.C., 128 Church Street, W. 8.
 1920 *WATSON, COMMANDER HAROLD NEWALL, R.N., Belmont, 10 Curzon Park, Chester.
 1901 *WATTERS, CHARLES A., Esq., Springfields, Park Road, Hayton, Liverpool.
 1917 WATTS, GERALD A., Esq., Drumlerry, Londonderry.
 1901 WEBB, PERCY H., Esq., M.B.E., 4 and 5 West Smithfield, E.C. 1, *Hon. Treasurer*.
 1885 *WEBER, F. PARKES, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., 13 Harley Street, W. 1.
 1899 WELCH, FRANCIS BERTRAM, Esq., B.A., Penyllan, Gadshill Road, Charlton Kings, Gloucestershire.
 1920 *WHEELER, ERNEST H., Esq., 56 Caledonian Road, N. 1.

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- 1915 WHITEHEAD, R. B., Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S. (retd.),
30 Millington Road, Cambridge.
- 1908 WILLIAMS, T. HENRY, Esq., 15 Stanwick Road, W. 14.
- 1910 WILLIAMS, W. L., Esq., Bryn Deri, Hereford Road, Aber-
gavenny.
- 1927 WILLS, L. E., Esq., 52 Church Street, Falmouth.
- 1906 WOOD, HOWLAND, Esq., Curator of the American Numis-
matic Society, 156th Street, W. of Broadway, New York,
U.S.A.
- 1920 WOODWARD, W. H., Esq., 39 Harley House, N.W. 1.
- 1920 *WOODWARD, A. M. TRACEY, Esq., Chinese P.O. Box No. 1044,
Shanghai, China.
- 1903 WRIGHT, H. NELSON, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.), 42 Ravenscroft
Avenue, N.W. 11.
- 1920 WYMAN, ARTHUR CRAWFORD, Esq., 29 Place Dauphine,
Paris I.
- 1922 YOANNA, A. DE, Esq., B.A., M.D., 111 Pierrepont Street,
Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.
- 1880 YOUNG, ARTHUR W., Esq., 12 Hyde Park Terrace, W. 2.
- 1919 ZIEGLER, PHILIP, Esq., Lilly Villa, Victoria Park,
Manchester.

HONORARY FELLOWS

ELECTED

- 1898 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY,
Palazzo Quirinale, Rome.
- 1903 BAHRFELDT, GENERAL DER INFANTERIE A. D., PROFESSOR
MAX VON, Dr.Phil., Zinksgarten-Strasse 2, Halle (Saale),
Germany.
- 1898 BLANCHET, M. ADRIEN, Membre de l'Institut, 10 Bd.
Émile Augier, Paris XVI.
- 1926 DIEUDONNÉ, MONSIEUR A., Conservateur des Médailles,
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- 1899 GABRICI, PROF. DR. ETTORE, S. Giuseppe dei Nudi 75, Naples.
- 1904 KUBITSCHKE, PROF. J. W., Pichlergasse 1, Vienna IX.
- 1893 LOEBBECKE, HERR A., Cellerstrasse 1, Brunswick.
- 1904 MAURICE, M. JULES, 15 Rue Vaneau, Paris VII.
- 1899 PICK, DR. BEHRENDT, Münzkabinett, Gotha.
- 1926 TOURNEUR, M. VICTOR, Conservateur des Médailles, Biblio-
thèque Royale, Brussels.

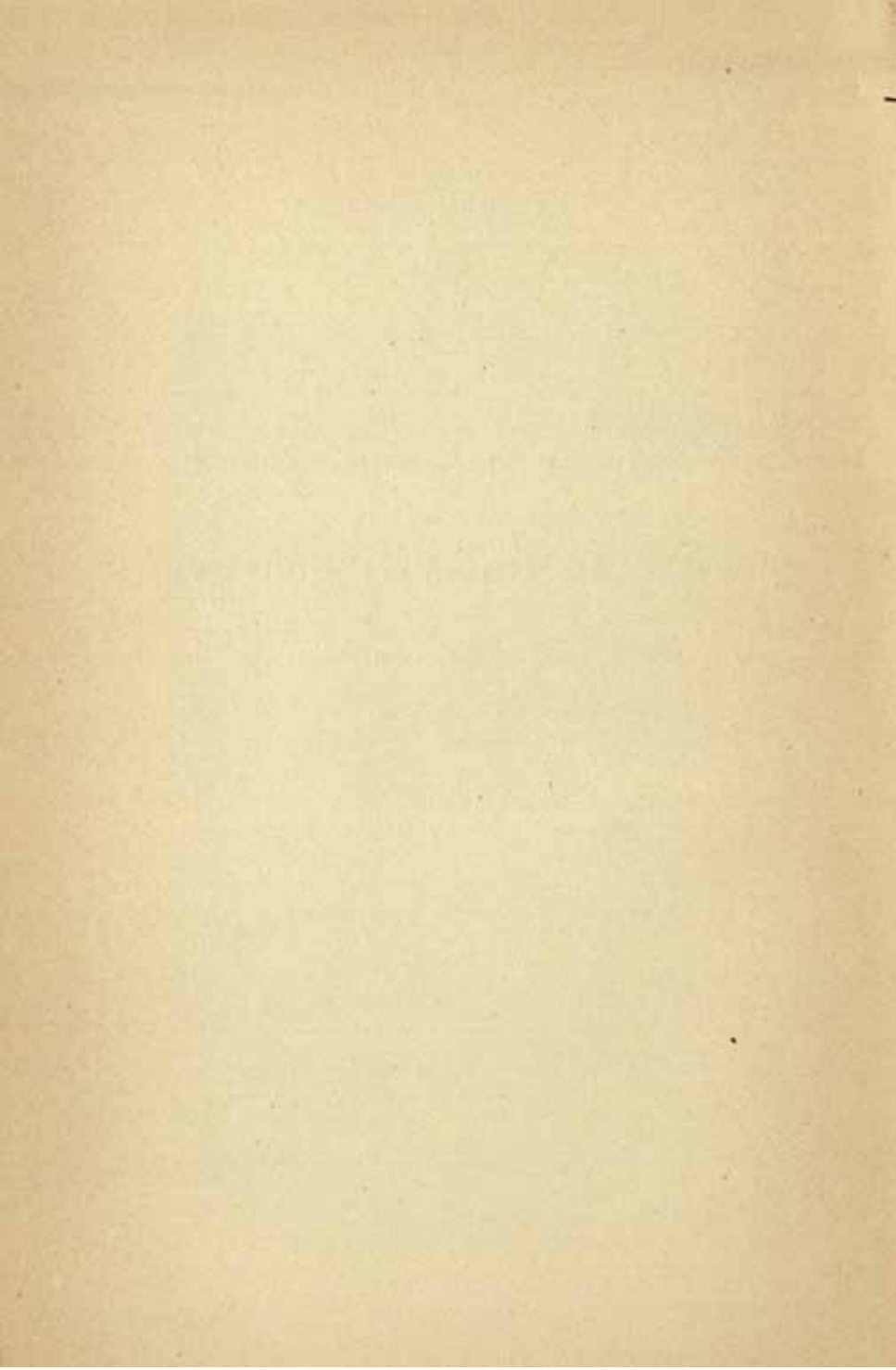
MEDALLISTS

OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ELECTED

- 1883 CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1884 AQUILLA SMITH, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A.
- 1885 EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., F.R.S.
- 1886 MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.
- 1887 JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A.
- 1888 DR. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, Winterthur.
- 1889 PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.S.A.
- 1890 MONSIEUR J. P. SIX, Amsterdam.
- 1891 DR. C. LUDWIG MÜLLER, Copenhagen.
- 1892 PROFESSOR R. STUART POOLE, LL.D.
- 1893 M. W. H. WADDINGTON, Sénateur, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1894 CHARLES FRANCIS KEARY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
- 1895 PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR MOMMSEN, Berlin.
- 1896 FREDERIC W. MADDEN, Esq., M.R.A.S.
- 1897 DR. ALFRED VON SALLET, Berlin.
- 1898 THE REV. CANON W. GREENWELL, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
- 1899 M. ERNEST BABELON, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1900 PROFESSOR STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A., Litt.D.
- 1901 S. E. BARON WLADIMIR VON TIESENHAUSEN, St. Petersburg.
- 1902 ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
- 1903 M. GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1904 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.
- 1905 SIR HERMANN WEBER, M.D.
- 1906 COMM. FRANCESCO GNECCHI, Milan.
- 1907 BARCLAY V. HEAD, Esq., D.Litt., D.C.L., Ph.D., Corr. de l'Inst.
- 1908 PROFESSOR DR. HEINRICH DRESSSEL, Berlin.
- 1909 HERBERT A. GRUEBER, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1910 DR. FRIEDRICH EDLER VON KENNER, Vienna.
- 1911 OLIVER CODRINGTON, Esq., M.D., M.R.A.S., F.S.A.
- 1912 GENERAL-LEUTNANT MAX VON BAHRFELDT, Hildesheim.
- 1913 GEORGE MACDONALD, Esq., M.A., LL.D.
- 1914 JEAN N. SVORONOS, Athens.
- 1915 GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, Esq., M.A.
- 1916 M. THÉODORE REINACH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1918 Not awarded.
- 1919 M. ADRIEN BLANCHET, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1920 H. B. EARLE-FOX, Esq., and J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, Esq.
- 1921 PERCY H. WEBB, Esq.
- 1922 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1923 PROF. J. W. KUBITSCHKE, Vienna.
- 1924 HENRY SYMONDS, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1925 EDWARD T. NEWELL, Esq., New York.
- 1926 R. W. MACLACHLAN, Esq., Montreal.
- 1927 M. A. DIEUDONNÉ, Paris.
- 1928 SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., F.B.A.
- 1929 MONSIEUR JULES MAURICE, Paris.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1928—1929.

OCTOBER 18, 1928.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of May 17 were read and approved.

The Rev. Canon Gordon Gavin, Dr. F. F. Kraus, and Mr. Leonard Forrer, jun., were proposed for election.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

1. Antiquaries Journal, Vol. vii.
2. Archaeologia Aeliana, 1928.
3. British Museum Quarterly, Vol. iv, Pt. 1.
4. Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1928, Pt. 1.
5. Giesecke, W., Italia Numismatica; *from the Author*.
6. Gillingham, Harrold, Decorations and Medals of French Colonies; *from the Author*.
7. Mitteilungen d. Deutsch. Arch. Instituts, (Rome) Vol. xlii.
8. Milne, J. Grafton, Currency Reform of Ptolemy II; *from the Author*.
9. Nolan, Patrick, Monetary History of Ireland, Pt. 2.
10. Papers of the British School at Athens, Vol. xxvii.
11. Papers of the British School at Rome, Vol. x.
12. Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Vol. xxix.
13. Revue Numismatique, 1928, Pts. 1 and 2.
14. Spink's Numismatic Circular, 1927.
15. Suomen Museo, Vols. xxxiv-xxxv.
16. Syria, 1928, Pts. 1 and 2.

Mr. William Gilbert exhibited one of the finest known specimens of the second brass of Aquilia Severa (Coh. No. 3).

Mr. Henry Garside, on behalf of Miss Linda Gardiner, exhibited a specimen in bronze of the Montagu Sharpe Prize Medal of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds.

Mr. Garside also showed his own specimen of a bronze medal bearing on the obverse the diademed head of Queen Victoria and the names of the members of Lord John Russell's government, and on the reverse the names of the members of the House of Commons in 1849.

Mr. F. A. Harrison showed a series of early large silver coins of the Emperor Maximilian.

Mr. F. S. Salisbury exhibited a third brass of Valentinian II of the single Victory type with mint-mark ASIS and another of Honorius of the Salus Reipublicae type, both with genitive endings in the obverse legends (NI AVG and RI AVG).

The President showed some folles of Diocletian of Alexandria with the XXI mark and two London folles of Diocletian and Maximian of the earlier type.

Mr. Fredk. A. Walters, F.S.A., showed a half-groat of Richard III with m.m. boar's head and a pellet under bust; only about four specimens are now known: Hawkins doubted the accuracy of the one illustrated by Snelling.

The Rev. E. A. Sydenham exhibited a series of *Aes Grave* of the Roma type: Libral series.

Mr. H. P. Hall showed the very rare early Republican gold coin with reverse the oath scene, and a very fine series in six trays of early Roman bronze to illustrate Mr. Mattingly's paper.

Mr. H. Nelson Wright showed a half-muhr of Akbar struck at Urdu Zafar Kārn in 1000 A.H. (1592) of which only one other is known.

Mr. Lionel F. Fletcher exhibited 8 tokens of the Chapters of Liege including one of St. Dionysius 1659 (Scott No. 48) which it has been suggested might be a London seventeenth-century token. [Cf. *Num. Chron.* 1923, p. 141, No. 104.]

Mr. P. Thorburn exhibited a silver quarter-mohur of Rajésvart Devī of Nepal, a Chinese piece of 10 cash of Kashghar of Kuang Hsu, and an early Omayyad falus restruck on a third brass of Aurelian.

Mr. Mattingly read a paper, entitled "Janus and the Prow", on the origins of Roman coinage. His main thesis was that the great prow series of *Aes Grave* does not come, as has been supposed, at the head of the Roman series, but that it represents the coinage of the first Punic War, when the command of the sea became of vital interest to Rome. In connexion with the proposed dating he reviewed the problems raised by the early Roman didrachms and the introduction of the denarius.

NOVEMBER 15, 1928.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of October 18 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

1. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1927.
2. Antiquaries Journal, Vol. vii, Pt. 4.

The Rev. Canon Gordon Gavin, Dr. F. F. Kraus, and Mr. Leonard Forrer, jun., were elected Fellows of the Society.

Mr. William Gilbert showed a solidus of Magnentius (Coh. 48) of Aquileia and a denarius (Coh. 82) of Trèves Mint, both in fine state.

Mr. F. S. Salisbury exhibited bronze coins of Theodosius and Arcadius from the Thessalonica Mint from the Weymouth Bay hoard; these are rare in British finds. Both were of the GLORIA REIPUBLICAE type and had mm.

$\frac{B}{TES}$ and $\frac{F}{TES}$ respectively.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., showed the silver medal recently struck at the Mint for Armistice Day, and two denarii struck in Sicily by Sextus Pompey, one with the head of his father and the other, perhaps, not the same portrait.

Miss Helen Farquhar exhibited a gold unite, eight half-crowns, a half-groat, and a penny of Charles I of the Exeter Mint; only one other unite is known, and one of the half-crowns (found in a roof at Bovey) is unique and another an unpublished variety.

Col. H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A., exhibited four half-crowns of unknown mints of Charles I and suggested that some might fit into the mint of Truro.

Miss Mary Coate read a paper on the Royalist Mints of Truro and Exeter in 1642-6 in which she gave the results of her researches in the private papers of Sir Richard Vyvyan. She was able to throw much light on the working of the Exeter Mint and its predecessor at Truro during the Civil War. (This paper was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1928, pp. 213-248.)

Miss Farquhar, Col. Morrieson, Mr. Brooke, and the President took part in the discussion.

DECEMBER 20, 1928.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of November 15 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to the donors:

1. Revue Numismatique Tchechoslovaque, Vol. iv.
2. Syria, 1928, Pts. 1 and 2.
3. Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Vol. xxxviii.

The evening was devoted to Exhibitions.

Col. H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A., exhibited seven mining-talers of George II as Elector of Hanover of the following mines: Güte des Herrn (1745), Lautentals Glück (1749), König Carl (1752), Cronenburgs Glück (1752), Bleifeld (1752), Regenbogen (1748), and Weisser Schwan (1750). He also showed a series of Japanese silver presentation pieces and amulets.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher showed forty-one copper coins of Malta and sixty-one of Brunswick, also manorial tokens of Honychild, Frinton, Minster, Blanchland, Wark, Winlaton, and Sawley, and the seventeenth-century token of Walter Harris of Dublin with hen and chickens, as on the new Irish coins, and a medalet of Sir Robert Peel with equestrian portrait.

Mr. C. J. Bunn brought a tremissis of Basiliscus and his son Marcus, a solidus of Heraclius and his son Heraclonas, and another of Tiberius Constantinus.

Mr. W. Gilbert showed an aureus of Maximianus Hercules, a variety of Cohen 47, reading CONCORDIAE for CONCORDIA.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited a set of the new Irish Free State coinage, 20, 10, and 5 centavos of nickel struck in Peru during the war between Chile and Peru, and a 5 heller struck and another cast in brass for German East Africa.

Mr. Fredk. A. Harrison showed a series of coins of the Netherlands from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, of Flanders (from Gui de Dompierre), Burgundy (from Philip the Bold), and Brabant (from Henry I) till their union under Philip the Good in 1430.

Dr. S. H. Fairbairn exhibited a medal by Pallory made from the material of the Bastille, which he demolished under contract. Specimens were distributed to members of the Legislative Assembly.

Sir Charles Oman showed a very fine set of Seleucid tetradrachms, and a fine series of talers illustrating the portraiture of the House of Habsburg.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., showed two interesting Roman denarii of the Civil War period, supplemented by

two shown by Mr. Martin Spink (*B.M.C.*, Vol. i, p. 516): (1) Denarius by the moneyer L. SERVIVS (SVLPICIVS) RVFVS. The portrait is said to be that of the Tribune of the same name. The head, however, is the counterpart of that of Brutus shown on the EID MAR coins (p. 588). (2) Denarius of Augustus by C VIBIVS VARVS. The same portrait is shown on the denarius of M ARRIVS SECVNDVS. On the latter coin the portrait is again considered as that of the moneyer. These two coins point rather definitely to the portraits not being those of the moneyers, but of much higher placed personages. It is quite likely, in any case, that a careful examination of coins of this period, c. B. C. 43, will show other examples of this sort of attribution.

Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, F.S.A., exhibited a leaden token of Elizabeth, c. 1574; *obv.* two-headed eagle displayed and crowned T.L.; *rev.* shield of arms of France crowned GOD SAVE THE QUENE (*Med. Ill.*, I, 123-65). He also showed two Dutch money-scale boxes with weights practically complete: (1) bears the label of Hendric Linderman, of Amsterdam, but the weights are stamped with the initials of Johannes Linderman. The crowned shield of the arms of Amsterdam is thrice stamped on the outside of the lid and also appears on the label. (2) The label is unfortunately lost, but the weights (with the exception of two intruded ones) and also one of the scale pans bear the stamp of Jacob l'Admiral, junior, of Amsterdam, with the rampant lion brandishing a sword (the Belgic lion). Jacob l'Admiral, junior, was Inspector-general of Weights and Measures of Holland and West Friesland, and later of the United Provinces, about the middle of the eighteenth century. Both boxes are decorated with bookbinder's tooling and are fastened with artistic brass locks, especially Linderman's, where the hook is in the form of a female figure scantily draped.

JANUARY 17, 1929.

SIR ARTHUR J. EVANS, M.A., D.LITT., LL.D., PH.D.,
F.R.S., F.S.A., F.B.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of Dec. 20 were read and approved.

Mr. A. J. S. McNickle was proposed for election.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to the donors:

1. Antiquaries Journal, 1929, Pt. 1.
2. Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1928, Pt. 2.
3. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1927-8.
4. Royal Mint: 58th Annual Report.
5. Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, 1928, xxi, Pt. 4.
6. Horvat, S. B., Médaillon inconnu de Faustine I; *from the Author.*

Mr. William Gilbert exhibited five aurei of the period of Diocletian, showing the great changes in style during the reign, and an aureus of Carinus (Coh. 160), *rev.* VIRTVS AVG. Hercules, a rare coin in brilliant state.

Dr. S. H. Fairbairn showed a medal with busts of Robespierre and Cecile Renaud.

Sir Arthur Evans exhibited an aureus of Magnus Maximus struck at London: *obv.* bust DN MAG. MAXIMVS P F AVG.; *rev.* Victory and two Emperors seated: VICTORIA AVGG.-AVGOB.

Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., exhibited two London pennies of the light coinage (1470-71) of Henry VI, one struck from an altered die of Edward IV, the second from a regular die with obverse legend $\text{HENRICV DI GRA REX ANGL}$ with no stops; on the first coin the H is punched over the initial cross and again after it. The second coin is remarkably fine and of full weight—12 grains. London pennies

of this coinage are extremely rare, perhaps not more than six or seven specimens being known, several of these being severely clipped.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., exhibited a new bronze coin of Agrippa struck in Sicily: *obv.* head of Agrippa left, bare. M.AGRIPPA . . . CLAS PRAE C . . . OR MARIT ET; *rev.* Medusa head and triskeles CAESAR . . . III R.P.C. probably, from the style of the flan, overstruck on a fourth-century coin of Syracuse. He also showed a number of other Republican coins struck in Sicily and a large brass of Hadrian with a similar Medusa reverse.

Mr. F. S. Salisbury read a paper on "The Late Fourth-century Currency in Britain".

The paper was based on a hoard of over 4,500 bronze coins found in the summer of 1928, at Weymouth Bay. All the results obtained from Richborough for the history of the Western mints, published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1927, were still more clearly established. The Single Victory type was shown to be almost exclusively Gallic, the Victory and Captive type as exclusively Italian and Eastern. At Rome and Arles the officinae were usually assigned to the Augusti in order of seniority, but Arcadius and Honorius were predominant at Arles and Rome respectively, striking freely in all officinae, and heavily in the lowest serial numbers. Except for the difference of type, Aquileia belonged to the Gallic group of mints, in all of which Arcadius predominated. The progressive southward concentration of the Gallic bronze issue at Arles was clearly marked: Lyon scarcely struck in the second officina after A.D. 388.

The pre-Theodosian money amounted to a ninth of the whole, and consisted of the smaller grades of all those types, beginning with the third-century Gallic usurpers, which suffered a degradation of module approximating to that of the Theodosian bronze. All larger issues and modules were absent. Thirty radiates of the Gallic empire were present, including barbarous pieces which were contemporary with their originals. There were no true minims and the Richborough radiates attributed to the fifth century were copied from the third-century element shown by the hoard to be still current about A.D. 395. A late Constantinian date was claimed for the Carausius II group of coins.

FEBRUARY 21, 1929.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of Jan. 17 were read and approved.

Mr. A. J. S. McNickle was elected a Fellow of the Society and Mrs. George P. Cammann was proposed for election.

The President exhibited an augustale of Frederick II and a taler and half-taler of Henneberg with reverse type, a hen.

Mr. Sydenham and Mr. Lawrence showed a series of denarii of L. Papius and L. Roscius to illustrate the paper.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., for Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin, exhibited a fine denarius of Julia Maesa: *rev.* CONSECRATIO.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence also showed a noble of Edward III, c. 1353, with the letter R in obverse inscription represented by **R**.

Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., exhibited two profile shillings of Edward VI, of the Bristol Mint, mm. T.C. in monogram, for Thomas Chamberlain, mint master, who succeeded Wm. Sharrington after his dismissal. The silver is of 6 oz. fine quality and they were struck only during May and June 1549 (Symonds). Different dies are employed for each specimen: one has the earlier shield associated with London, with the INIMICOS legend, and the other is of the usual London type, but with roses on the reverse legend.

Mr. P. Thorburn showed (1) a gold muhr of Jaunpur of A.H. 823, (2) a "Cancer" rupee of Ahmadabad, A.H. 1027, year 13. This is of very rare couplet type, frequently used on the earlier silver of ordinary types, but it is extremely rare on zodiacal coins.

Rev. E. A. Sydenham read a paper on "Symbols on Denarii of L. Papius and L. Roscius".

Although separated by some fourteen years, the issues of L. Papius and L. Roscius Fabatus are evidently related and appear

to have been struck under similar conditions and with similar purpose. The *obv.* type is practically the same on both coinages, and the *rev.* types refer to the cult of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium. Their interest centres mainly in the variety and meaning of the symbols with which the types are always accompanied. Symbols, or pictorial devices, occur on coins of the Republic from very early times for varying purposes; e.g. to distinguish mints, moneyers, issues, or dies, but in this respect the symbols of L. Papius mark a new departure.

The symbols occur in related pairs. The representations are of the most everyday character, and seem unquestionably to illustrate in a kind of pictorial shorthand the different trades or trade-guilds (*collegia opificum*) of Rome. This gives to the coinage of L. Papius a peculiarly democratic character, and it appears probable that it was issued in connexion with the anti-Sullan reaction under the consul, Lepidus, in B.C. 78.

The symbols on coins of Roscius are closely parallel, though not identical, with those of Papius. They suggest the same democratic spirit and unmistakable allusion to the trade-guilds. The date of their issue is suggested as B.C. 64, when the anti-Sullan movement found expression in the abortive agrarian law of Rullus, doubtless at the prompting of Caesar. The obvious references to Egypt in certain pairs of symbols tend to corroborate the date suggested for the issue of Roscius.

MARCH 21, 1929.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of February 21 were read and approved.

Mrs. George P. Cammann was elected a Fellow of the Society, and Mr. J. H. F. Checkley was proposed for election.

A vote of congratulation to Col. Morrieson on his attaining the jubilee of his election to the Society was passed.

The evening was devoted to Exhibitions.

Mr. William Gilbert showed a complete set (fourteen in all) of the sovereigns issued in the Transvaal previous to British rule, including the rare Burgers sovereign and the siege-pieces which end the series.

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison exhibited a series of coins of Florence and Pisa, from the twelfth-century republic of Florence to the Union of Italy in 1861.


The President exhibited two coins of Volusian as Caesar and a forged "Oxford" 10/- piece of Charles I with the view of the city.

Mr. H. Nelson Wright showed a very fine gold mohur of Jahangir of Agra.

Mr. C. J. Bunn exhibited a series of forty and twenty nummia of Justin II and Sophia of Constantinople, Thessalonica, Nicomedia, and Cyzicus.

Mr. H. W. Taffs exhibited a series of countermarked coins of Spain, Costa Rica, Chile, &c.

Mr. L. L. Fletcher exhibited a series of small copper coins of German States—Lippe, Saxe-Meiningen, Henneburg, Hohenzollern, &c.

Mr. G. C. Haines exhibited a third brass of Constantine I: *obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG., head laureate r.; *rev.* SPES PVBLIC—vexillum surmounted by  piercing serpent, mm. $\frac{A}{CONS.}$, of small module found at Chichester.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., on behalf of Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin, showed a specimen of the countermarked onza (Philip V, 174[-]), attributed to Grand Cayman, published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1916, pp. 276-9, and patterns of the Ceylon two and one rix dollar, 1812 (Atkins 15 and 16), and the Calcutta rupee (Atkins 49), an unpublished pattern of R. Keeling's two quarts, 1802, of Gibraltar, and an unpublished Scottish token of J. McLean, Cott. St., Paisley, 5/3, overstruck on a George III penny of 1797.

Mr. Percy H. Webb exhibited a very fine series of Roman third brass in choice condition.

Mr. P. Thorburn exhibited a series of Oriental coins, Sassanian, Assam, Nepal, Bengal, and Mongol, and a piastre of 'Ali Dinar of Därfür, 1327 A.H.

Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., exhibited six portrait coins of early sixteenth-century Popes struck at Rome and Bologna, of Julius II (*rev.* St. Paul), Leo X (lion with Medici arms),

Clement VII (by Cellini), Christ raising Peter from the sea, and St. Peter released by the angel, Paul III, and Julius III (the last two of Bologna) a Carausius denarius (found at Bath), *rev.* EXPECTATE VENI, and another of Allectus, *rev.* VIRTUS AVG. ML., Hercules with attributes under a pedimental portico of four columns (unpublished); and three medallions of Commodus, *rev.* BRITANNIA (countermarked on edge), (Cohen 37); *rev.* Emperor as Hercules (of two medals), (Cohen 208), and *rev.* Jupiter and Four Seasons (Cohen 474), the last found at York.

APRIL 18, 1929.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of March 21, 1929, were read and approved.

Mr. J. H. F. Checkley was elected a Fellow of the Society, and Messrs. F. M. Herrick and C. R. Milbank were proposed for election.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

1. Antiquaries Journal, Vol. viii, Pt. 2.
2. Papers of the British School at Athens, Vol. xxviii.
3. Syria, 1928, Pt. 4.

Mr. H. Nelson Wright exhibited a rare square gold tanka of Kutb al-Din Mubarak of Deogir Mint, 720 A.H., of fine workmanship.

Sir Charles Oman showed a double siliqua, of Thessalonica Mint, of Julian as Caesar, *rev.* VIRTUS EXERCITVS, mm. TES, apparently unpublished.

The Rev. E. A. Sydenham showed a very fine cistophoric tetradrachm of Augustus of Asia Minor.

Mr. H. Mattingly read a paper on "The Roman Coinage in the Days of Cicero and Caesar".

Just as Roman republican history reached its climax in that age, so did Roman republican coinage then attain its full development. The types are no longer stereotyped, but free and full of allusion—but, unfortunately for us, the history of the Roman noble families, which supplied the mint-masters, takes up a disproportionate amount of the space. References to contemporary history are not, it seems at first, very numerous, though study may reveal some that are not obvious.

The reader then showed slides illustrating a number of the more important coins of the period—including the denarius with the surrender of Jugurtha on the reverse, the aureus of Pompey the Great, and the issue of Julius Caesar with **II** on obverse. New historical explanations were suggested for the types of C. Egnatius Maxsumus, L. Farsuleius Mensor, T. Vettius Sabinus, M. Aquillius and others, and the attempt was made to associate particular issues with the war of Pompey against the pirates, the Catilinarian conspiracy, and the conference of Luca.

MAY 16, 1929.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of April 18 were read and approved.

Messrs. F. M. Herrick and C. R. Milbank were elected Fellows of the Society, and Mr. G. E. Chapman was proposed for election.

Messrs. Henry Garside and G. C. Haines were appointed to audit the Society's accounts.

Mr. Thorburn showed two dirhems of the Seljuk Kai-Kā'ūs I of Koniya and Sīwās Mints.

The President exhibited the five types of the solidus of Theodosius II and his rare siliqua; the bad style of Ravenna was remarkable in comparison with the other mints.

Mr. C. E. Blunt showed a cast of a piedfort of a Calais halfpenny of Henry VI of the trefoil coinage (wt. 57.9 grains) in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Obv. M.M. Plain Cross. **hERRIC • REX : ANGLI**
 Trefoil after **REX** but apparently nothing in
 the field or on the king's breast.

Rev. **VIL | LIT • | CTIL | ISIE** Trefoil after **VILLIT**.
 Pellets joined. Wt. 57.9 grs.

This appears to be a piece hitherto unknown either as a piedfort or as a normal coin and it must be regarded as the latest Calais halfpenny that has come to light.

All trefoil coins of Calais are of great rarity, and it is curious that another piedfort of this coinage should still survive. This is the groat in the British Museum, which has trefoils in both legends and also at either side of the neck.

Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., exhibited a silver siliqua of the usurper Procopius, 365-6 A.D., and a Berwick penny of the Edwards with bear's head in first quarter, and two Berwick halfpennies with bear's head in two quarters of the reverse.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., and Mr. C. E. Blunt showed coins of the Berwick mint in illustration of the paper.

Mr. William Gilbert showed the four known heart-shaped seventeenth-century tokens of Essex. (1) *Henry Cordall of Chelmsford* (Williamson 55). This token is unique, and is the one from which the description in Williamson's work was taken. (2) *George Dey of Epping* (Williamson 168). This is the finer of the only two specimens known. (3) *William Greenwood of Stratford*. A token hitherto quite unpublished and apparently unique. (4) *Thomas Tylor of Waltham Abbey* (Williamson 332). Of this token eight specimens are known.

Mr. Christopher Blunt read a paper on "The Coins of Berwick under the English Kings".

Berwick was captured by Edward I in 1296 and held by the English till 1318. During this period coins were struck more or less continuously, the types being linked up by a series of mules. In 1297-8, while the castle was held by the English, the Scots took the town and certain extremely crude coins were ascribed to this period of semi-siege. To 1310 is given the one type which

Berwick struck that corresponded to the English coins (Fox type XI). In 1333, on Edward III's recapture of the town, the accounts show that the mint was again active though the quantities struck were very small. This issue is represented by the pence and halfpence with single bear's head on the reverse, and is followed immediately, in 1335 at the latest, by the issue with two bears' heads on the reverse. This latter issue consisted of halfpence and farthings only. It was discussed at some length whether coins bearing the name of Edward could have been struck when the town was held by the Scots.

(This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

The President, Mr. Walters, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Brooke took part in the discussion which followed.

JUNE 20, 1929.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

PROF. SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of June 21, 1928, were read and approved.

Messrs. L. L. Fletcher and L. G. P. Messenger were appointed scrutineers of the ballot.

The following report of the Council was laid before the Society.

The Council have again the honour to lay before you their Annual Report on the state of the Royal Numismatic Society.

It is with deep regret that they have to announce the death of the following Honorary Fellow of the Society :

M. Théodore Reinach,

and of the following five ordinary Fellows of the Society :

J. Hight Blundell.

Frank C. Higgins.

Monsignor Calleja Schembri.

Frederick W. Lincoln.

R. Wright Taylor.

They have also to report the resignation of the following six Fellows :

Robert M. Cuninghame.

F. S. Lyddon.

E. C. Davey.

Miss Mildred A. Seaby.

C. S. Gifford.

W. H. Williamson.

On the other hand they have to report the election of the following nine Ordinary Fellows :

Mrs. George P. Cammann.

G. E. Chapman, Esq.

J. F. H. Checkley, Esq.

L. Forrer, Esq.

Canon Gordon Gavin.

F. M. Herrick, Esq.

Dr. F. F. Kraus.

A. J. S. McNickle, Esq.

S. R. Milbank, Esq.

The number of Fellows is therefore :

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1927	257	11	268
Since elected	9	—	9
	<hr/> 266	<hr/> 11	<hr/> 277
Deceased	5	1	6
Resigned	6	—	6
	<hr/> 255	<hr/> 10	<hr/> 265

The Council have also to report that they have awarded the Society's Medal to Monsieur Jules Maurice, an Honorary Fellow of the Society, in recognition of his services to the study of Roman coins, in particular for his *Numismatique Constantinienne*.

The Treasurer's Report, which follows, was then laid before the Meeting :

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE-

FROM JUNE 1ST, 1928,

Dr.

THE SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.
To cost of Chronicles	348	15	6
„ Rent of Rooms	50	0	0
„ Refreshments, &c.	6	17	0
„ Lantern Expenses	6	15	2
„ Insurance	1	10	0
„ Sundry Payments	9	11	2
„ Research Expenses	24	10	0
	£447	18	10
„ Balance carried forward—	£	s.	d.
General Account	249	0	3
Research Account	3	16	3
	252	16	6
	£700	15	4

MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
TO MAY 31st, 1929.

WITH PERCY H. WEBB, HON. TREASURER.

£s.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>By Balance brought forward—</i>						
General Account	82	1	5			
Research Account	27	18	0			
				109	19	5
<i>By Subscriptions—</i>						
Ordinary	309	3	0			
Balance of Life Subscription	31	10	0			
Entrance Fees	7	7	0			
				348	0	0
<i>By Sales of Chronicles—</i>						
Current Numbers	168	3	9			
Old Numbers	2	1	6			
				170	5	3
<i>By Dividends and Interest</i>				40	0	10
<i>By Return of Income Tax</i>				32	9	10
				£700	15	4

PERCY H. WEBB, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,

HENRY GARSIDE, }
G. C. HAINES, } *Hon. Auditors.*

June 12, 1929.

The President then handed the Society's Medal to be forwarded to Monsieur Jules Maurice and said :

It is with the greatest pleasure that I hand over to our Secretary the Silver Medal of the Society for transmission to M. Jules Maurice, to whom it has been awarded by the Council this year, as a testimonial of our appreciation of his numismatic merit.

We are happy in being thus able to honour one who has shown his goodwill to our institution by contributing repeatedly to the pages of our Journal articles of outstanding value. His monographs, on the coinage of Constantine and his family at various provincial mints, appeared in our publication on six separate occasions between 1899 and 1912. The mints dealt with were those of London—the most interesting of all to British numismatists—Alexandria, Heraclea, Siscia, Nicomedia, and Antioch. Each of these papers put in chronological order a series of coins hitherto practically unsorted, and each contained the first notice of many pieces hitherto unpublished. These admirable articles formed the foundation of M. Maurice's large book, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, which appeared in three volumes between 1908 and 1912, the work being completed by the addition to the articles printed in our Journal of the annals of the mints of Rome, Treves, Thessalonica, &c. We may claim, therefore, to have been highly favoured by the first appearance of the groundwork of this epoch-making analysis of Constantinian Chronology in our columns.

In addition to the acknowledgement of our admiration for this great piece of numismatic work, we must speak of the general indebtedness of all students of the Roman coinage to other works of M. Maurice. I allude to his iconographic inquiries as to the portraits of Roman Emperors and their sons and consorts, published for the most part in the *Paris Revue Numismatique* in 1904 and 1905. But one of the series, that dealing with the portraiture of the ladies of the epoch of Constantine, appeared in our own Journal in 1914. It contained a strongly reasoned argument in favour of the existence of money of Helena, "nobilissima femina", the wife

of Crispus Caesar. The numismatic existence of this young lady has been much contested—those who wish to acknowledge her as one of the series of princesses honoured on the coinage will find her case strongly supported by M. Maurice's arguments.

It is always a pleasure to feel ourselves in close touch with our learned colleagues across the Channel, and our Council's vote of the medal of 1929 to this tried veteran of numismatic research will prove that we are not forgetful of the good work done over-seas.

Mr. Allan read the following letter of thanks from Monsieur Maurice :

15 Rue Vaneau,
Paris VII,
22 Mai 1929.

Cher Monsieur,

Je suis extrêmement reconnaissant à la Royal Numismatic Society du grand honneur qu'elle me fait en m'attribuant sa médaille pour l'année 1929 comme récompense pour mes travaux de Numismatique et en particulier pour ma *Numismatique Constantinienne*.

Je suis fier de cette distinction accordée par une Société qui a compris et qui comprend actuellement tant d'hommes éminents.

L'accueil cordial que j'ai toujours trouvé à Londres augmente encore ma reconnaissance.

L'un de mes plus grands regrets a été de ne pouvoir achever à cause de la guerre la description des émissions monétaires du bas empire romain.

Je suis sorti très affaibli des pays envahis et j'ai dû renoncer à l'achèvement de mon œuvre. Je suis vieux maintenant et je fais des travaux sur place principalement.

Mais quelle satisfaction pour moi de penser que les vingt ans pendant lesquels j'ai composé ma *Numismatique* ont été récompensés par votre Société!

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Secrétaire, avec mes remerciements, l'expression de mes sentiments confraternels et très cordiaux.

Jules Maurice.

Je vous serais très reconnaissant si vous vouliez bien en présentant mes remerciements au Président de la Société me rappeler au bon souvenir de Messieurs Sir Arthur J. Evans, George Francis Hill et Percy H. Webb, qui ont été de si bons confrères pour moi.

The President then delivered the following address :

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

This is the tenth time on which I have been privileged to address the Society in the capacity of President—my first appearance before you in that status having taken place in June 1920. Whether, following the example of the Roman moneyers of the fourth century, you will celebrate my decennalian vows completed *VOTA DECENNALIA SOLVITA* by further felicitations lies in the uncertainties of the future. Few have been the rulers who, like Theodosius II at Constantinople, or Sir John Evans in this honourable Society, saw the Xs mount up repeatedly in their record!

The annual statement of our doings and writings during the past year is not so exciting as that which I have had on several other occasions to lay before you. In fact, I almost caught myself repeating the old tag that "happy is the country which has no history"; for this year I have comparatively little to report. But to say that there is *no* history would be a gross exaggeration—there are several items quite worthy of mention.

To commence, as usual, with our Obituary list. It contains six names, of which only that of our foreign Corresponding member, M. Théodore Reinach, a great collector and connoisseur, is well known to the world. He was a "Member of the Institute", and had been on our roll

since 1895. In 1916 we honoured him to the best of our ability by conferring on him our annual medal. He had twice contributed to our Journal, in 1902 and 1906, on subjects connected with the archaeology of the Pontic regions. His most important numismatic achievement was the *Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure*, in which he collaborated with M. Ernest Babelon. But his more popular work, *L'Histoire par les Monnaies* (1902), is known to a wider circle of readers. He was one of three very distinguished brothers—Salomon, the Curator of the St. Germain Museum, and Joseph, the famous journalist known as "Polybe", being the other two.

Of the five other members whose decease we regret only Mr. Frederic Lincoln was known to me personally—as he probably was to every member of the Society here present. I imagine that we have all without exception sat within his glazed inner room, and perhaps worried him on occasion by over-long investigation of corners of the enormous stock of coins which he had inherited from his father—the one great London coin-dealer of my youthful days. It is pleasant to know that this old-established firm still continues on its accustomed spot, though the second generation has now passed away. No. 69 New Oxford Street now stands almost alone in its Victorian simplicity, among a row of houses of which almost every one has been modernized within my memory—it was in the 1860's that I first entered its doors under my father's guidance.

Of the other members whom we have lost this year I do not think that any one contributed to the pages of the Journal, or was in the habit of attending our meetings. Two of them indeed were prevented from doing so by perpetual absence beyond seas, Monsignor Calleja Schembri, D.D., a Maltese ecclesiastic of dignified station, who wrote a book on the *Coins of the Knights of St. John*, and Mr. Frank Higgins of New York, author of a useful little book on the *Copper Coins of Modern Europe*. Mr. R. Wright Taylor, F.S.A., a resident in Yorkshire, was I believe a collector of English coins, and Mr. J. H. Blundell of Ventnor was interested in

seventeenth-century tokens; he recently produced a small monograph on those of Bedfordshire. Mr. Blundell was a very old member, for his membership dated back to 1879. I think that there are very few—Mr. R. Ll. Kenyon, Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. J. D. Robertson, and Professor Percy Gardner—who were senior to him in our ranks.

Our report shows six resignations of membership—but these must not all be taken as real cases of renunciation: several of them are persons whose names have been removed from our roll because their subscriptions have failed to come in for several years.

This leaves our present membership at 265, after allowing for the new elections, of whom only eleven are honorary members. The number of these last night, I think, be increased by a few additional elections of distinguished foreign numismatists. In 1910 I note that we had as many as twenty-one of them.

Passing on to the general affairs of the Society, I think that the main event to be chronicled is the reorganization of our Library arrangements by a committee of three, under the charge of Mr. Harrison. A change in our system of classification, and still more in our system of lending was certainly necessary, and I think that the new rules are judicious and will work well. The old grievance was the long detention of much-wanted books by members who worked at them spasmodically, and seemed never to be done with them. A system of recall has now been established, and a few series have been scheduled as not to be borrowed at all. My own experience had always been that if I wanted a particular book which was not in my own library, it always chanced to be "out", and by the time that it came back I had been forced to verify my references in it by means of the copies in the British Museum or the Bodleian. I think one energetic researcher among my valued acquaintances was found to have as many as sixteen volumes with him at once!

The *Chronicle* continues to keep up its reputation for articles of sound value—I shall be dealing with them in detail presently—well distributed over the ages. It runs

to 346 pages for the 1928 volume, not quite so bulky a one as those of 1926 and 1927, but fully up to the average in size, and longer by far than the skimpy issues of the years in the early twenties, when it had dwindled away to sadly small dimensions. I only regret to have to state that my plaint of previous years must be repeated as to its unpunctuality in appearance. We have reached the 20th of June, and the first of its parts for the current year has not yet got to the hands of members. No doubt our editors have been suffering, as of yore, from the inability of contributors, an irresponsible race, to return corrected proofs with the punctuality that editors desire. I have edited things myself in other spheres, and know the habits of even the most valued authors.

We have to congratulate not only the tribe of numismatists but the whole British people on improvement of the minting of the national coinage of late. The authorities on Tower Hill seem at last to have discovered a metallic alloy for the subsidiary coinage (I cannot truthfully call it the *silver* coinage) which does not tarnish or grow discoloured, as did all the preceding issues, after a few months of use. The 1927 issue seems to retain its brightness most creditably. I have not yet seen a specimen that is "off colour". May I add that, to the satisfaction of all collectors of the British series, the crown piece is now readily obtainable by those who will take the slight trouble of going to the Issue Department of the Bank of England. I have paid several successful visits to its counter during the past year, and have been able to gratify many deserving folks with largesse of crowns. Let us give due praise to our valued member the Deputy Master of the Mint. I have some slight qualms as to whether the advent of the new Ministry may have some effects on the types of our currency; but imagine that they have no foundation, and that a quiet time is before us. The Mint must be busy now in the melting and recoining on the new standard of the appreciable influx of old (and often worn) silver from Ireland, which will be taking place during the next three or four years.

To proceed to the analysis of the Society's work during the session of 1928-9, I may say that we have held our usual nine meetings, two of which were "exhibition days". This comparatively modern form of spending our monthly hour of gathering seems still to be popular, and always leads to the production of interesting pieces. The cabinets of members of the Society can never be available for the study of other members as a whole—time and space forbidding—but it is possible to bring down to Russell Square abnormal pieces, notable either for rarity, or for beauty, or for historic interest, and we owe our best thanks to those members who have been liberal in the exhibition of their special treasures.

I regret to say that none of the papers read to us this year dealt with Greek numismatics—a phenomenon contrasting most markedly with the character of our meetings of twenty years ago,—nor have we been favoured with the usual synopsis by the Keeper of the Coins on Greek acquisitions of the British Museum in 1928—but this desideratum may probably be vouchsafed to us in the autumn. However, the number of the *Chronicle* which appeared in the spring of 1929—though dated 1928—contained two monographs on rather out-of-the-way corners of Greek numismatics. Mr. Milne continues his survey of the autonomous coinage of Smyrna, in the period preceding the Roman Empire. The main points of interest in it are (1) the type of the common coins with the seated figure of Homer—whom the Smyrniots claimed as a citizen, disputing the better-known claims of Chios—and the more obscure ones of five other places, and (2) the much rarer tetradrachms with the couchant or walking lion, which vary from the moderately good to the extremely flat and weak in style. One other Greek paper is that on "*Pseudaeginetica*" by Mr. Stanley Robinson, which attributes to Cretan mints a number of coins, mainly hemidrachms, which bear rough copies of the Aeginetan tortoise, but differ markedly in shape and execution from the coins which were certainly struck in that island during the time of its independence. Mr. Robinson suggests that they were issued by one or more Cretan cities when the

supply of real Aeginetan money ran short after 431 B. C., when the Athenians destroyed the city and expelled its inhabitants in the time of their tyranny over the Aegean. Small change with the familiar tortoise had become a "felt want" among the states accustomed to use it, and these rather ugly pieces, copying the old type, may have been issued by Cydonia (which was an Aeginetan colony) and perhaps by other places.

If the stream of Greek archaeology runs thin in our pages this year, Roman numismatics show themselves very vigorously flowing. No less than four considerable papers have been read to us dealing with Roman topics, and they range from the third century B. C. to the end of the fourth century A. D. Mr. Mattingly continues his iconoclastic crusade against the accepted sequence of Roman monetary issues laid down by Mommsen and Haeberlin. His thesis, supported by very cogent reasoning, is that the great "Aes Grave" series of enormous copper coins does not stand at the beginning of the Roman coinage, but represents a sort of "money of necessity" of the First Punic War, when silver was hard to get, and he points out that the ship's prow on the reverse is specially appropriate as a type to the period when Rome at last won the command of the seas, and created her navy. At no previous date would the prow have been a particularly appealing symbol—and the supposed allusion to the beaks of the Antiatic ships fixed on the *Columna rostrata* in the Forum seems very unconvincing. One thing is clear—that the art of the earliest "libral asses" is not in the least archaic—it may be rough, but it is not the roughness of antiquity.

Further down in the history of the Roman Republican series, we had a paper in February from Mr. Sydenham on the curious and interesting series of mint-marks or symbols which appear both on the obverse and on the reverse of certain denarii of the moneyers L. Papius and L. Roscius Fabatus, who though striking at an interval of several years agreed in using as their main type a head of Juno Sospita. As minor types both of them used on each coin

a pair of symbols, generally instruments of familiar handicrafts, such as a chopper and saw, a cup and a jug, or a boot and a sandal. Mr. Sydenham would see in these allusions to the Roman trade-guilds, and holds that these denarii show expressions of democratic spirit at the time of the first revolts against the oligarchic reforms of Sulla. The coins of Papius and Roscius both have the serrated edge, which, as Mr. Mattingly demonstrated some time ago, was the favourite device of all moneyers of the democratic party. The first issue may be connected with the movement of the consul Lepidus in 78 B.C., the later one synchronizes with the agrarian Law of Rullus in 64 B.C. If only we had clear evidence that the Urban "collegia" of handicraftsmen took a prominent part in the agitation, Mr. Sydenham's deduction would be certain. But, as is so often the case, clear historical evidence on this point is wanting.

Moving on some years, Mr. Mattingly gave in April a very interesting paper on the numismatics of the age of Cicero, endeavouring to link up contemporary politics with the coin-types of the mint. This is a fascinating study, and would be still more so if the monetary magistrates, with commendable modesty, had not been more prone to commemorate the deeds of their revered ancestors than their own. To put Numa Pompilius or the surrender of Jugurtha on one's money did more for family pride than for political propaganda. But there are a certain amount of types which commemorate recent achievements, like the well-known REX ARETAS and BACCHIVS JVDAEVVS pair, on the coins of Seaurus and Plautius, and the head of Vercingetorix on those of Hostilius Saserna. And, as Mr. Mattingly observes, there may be political allusion undetectable by us for want of local knowledge, in many of the more puzzling types used by members of the senatorial or the popular party in this epoch. Some of the figures represented are very curious—the oddest of all perhaps is that of the bird carrying a shield and spear, and having the head of Minerva on its shoulders, used by Valerius Acisculus.

It is a long step from the last coinage of the Republic to

the last coinage of the decadent Western Empire in Gaul and Britain, during the time of the Theodosian emperors, which formed the subject of Mr. Salisbury's paper read in January last. His deductions, bearing out in a general way those which he had formed after the study of the Richborough coin-finds, were largely based on a recently discovered hoard of small bronze found at Weymouth. From the comparison of the types here collected, it seems certain that Honorius must have been given the title of Augustus by his father some years before the usually accepted date of 393, and that the North-Gallie mints were beginning to drop out as coin-issuers after 388; even Lyons was failing, and Treves still more so. In short the decay of Roman power in the north was probably beginning some years before the great barbarian invasion of 400, which is generally taken as the land-mark in the "decline and fall". It was curious to find among the Theodosian coins at Weymouth some specimens of the decayed and barbarous copies of coins of Victorinus and Tetricus, with radiate crowns, whose date of issue has been a standing puzzle to numismatists. It would seem that unlicensed moneyers or forgers were already foisting their vile little pieces upon the British provincials some time before 400. This is contrary to the general opinion of earlier writers that they belong to the period after 410, when this island was in a state of chaos.

Monographs on sections of the British Coinage were forthcoming in satisfactory style this year. The earliest in date was Mr. Blunt's paper on the Berwick pence of Edward I and Edward II and halfpence of Edward III, which were divisible into well-marked classes, of which those with a bear's head in the corner of the cross appear to be the latest. Mr. Blunt attributed the whole series to periods when the town, or at least the castle, was in English hands, fitting the different classes into the several periods of occupation by analogy with the coins of English mints. Mr. Brooke suggested that the exceptionally barbarous pieces with the name of an Edward were not English money at all, but imitations struck by the Scots

while they were in possession of Berwick between 1318 and 1333. As these pieces are generally below standard weight, they may be Scottish "Lushbournes"—parallel to the similar pieces foisted into the English currency by the counts of Flanders, Hainault, or Namur, or those Luxemburg dukes who have left their name associated with the whole series in our Parliamentary records.

Mr. Brooke publishes in the number of the *Numismatic Chronicle* which is promised to us, but which has not yet appeared, a table of the bullion in gold and silver coined at the London mint from the accession of Richard II to the death of Edward VI—unfortunately it does not include the issues of Calais, Norwich, York, Durham, or Coventry, which are apparently no longer to be found. The interest of these tables is enormous; but presented to us, as they are, without any commentary, and with dates stated not in years *Anno Domini* but in regnal years (sometimes broken ones) of the kings, they make very difficult reading. Who can say, without using a little mental arithmetic, what is the exact period of months and days designated by the entry "30 March 9 Henry V to Michaelmas 3 Henry VI"? The reader is condemned to waste time in making a calculation which ought to appear in the margin of the text. But even when stated in this cryptic form, the mint rolls are suggestive to an inordinate degree. Looking at the fact that only £10,000 in silver was coined during the whole of the first ten years of Richard II, we see at once why his groats and pence are so exceedingly rare. And so with the early money of Henry IV—when we see that in three years (1405-8) the mint only coined 150 lb. Tower of silver, we cease to wonder why we cannot procure "heavy groats". But these sibylline pages need an interpreter—and Mr. Brooke would be fully competent to explain them to us, and to make them intelligible reading. We hope to see them so treated in some future number.

To the ordinary student of English numismatics the most interesting article in the year's proceedings is undoubtedly the paper read in last November by Miss Mary

Coate, establishing without the shadow of doubt the existence of a hitherto unsuspected Civil-War mint of Charles I. Investigating the family papers of the famous Cornish house of Vyvyan, Miss Coate found not only warrants empowering Sir Richard Vyvyan of Trelowarren to set up a mint in the King's behalf, and to coin there both gold and silver, but proof that such a mint was actually established at Truro, though that place is not mentioned by name in the king's warrant of November 14th, 1642. One document gives the expense of conveying to the mint at Truro the confiscated silver plate of Lord Robartes, the head of the Parliamentary faction in Cornwall, while another bears witness that Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq. "brought so much plate to be melted for the king's service at Truro as came to £104".

When Exeter fell into the hands of the Royalists in September 4th, 1643, the workmen and tools of the Truro mint were evidently moved thither—apparently before a month had elapsed since the fall of the "Capital of the West". The Exeter coinage of Charles I, including the immensely rare gold unit, is well known to all collectors of English coins, but it is evident that some of the coins hitherto attributed to it really belong to its predecessor at Truro. They must be those which display no distinctively Exeter mint-marks such as the castle, or the letters EX or EXON. The most notable of these is the so-called "truncheon" half-crown dated 1642, and therefore certainly anterior to the capture of Exeter by the Royalists in September 1643. This bears the mint-mark of the rose, a well-known badge for West of England silver, which was hitherto supposed to belong to Exeter alone. But clearly it does not, since the date 1642 is conclusive. Probably some of the undated shillings with the rose are also Truro and not Exeter coins, but it will be a labour of some difficulty to separate the earlier from the later issues. I wonder whether we shall ever be able to identify the unsatisfactory issues of the royalist mint in the Channel Isles, of which we had notice in a paper of 1928 contributed by Miss Farquhar!

Oriental numismatics are represented this year in the pages of our Journal by two considerable papers—one on Sassanian coins in the Hermitage Collection at St. Petersburg runs to 80 pages. As I cannot read Pehlevi it is rather unintelligible to me, but it seems to contain notice of many unpublished pieces, to delight the specialists on this series who are, I fear, few and far between.

The second, of far greater interest, is Mr. Whitehead's paper on the Portrait-Coins of the Mogul Emperor Jahāngir, a most extraordinary set of gold pieces, which break in the most flagrant way the Muhammadan prohibition against making representation of human beings or even animals. It would appear that Jahāngir, at least in his earlier years, dallied with the unorthodox new religion of his father Akbar, the so-called Ilahi Faith. Some of his coins are dated with the Ilahi Era, not that of the Hijra; but far more striking is the fact that he distributed on occasion medals with his father's or his own portrait. They are in two sizes, one that of the ordinary Mohur, the other much larger. It is interesting to find that Sir Thomas Roe, the Ambassador of James I, was on August 17, 1616 presented with one of these last, which he describes in his diary as being five times as large as those ordinarily distributed, and as bearing the king's image. Apparently the smaller sort could be set as turban pins, and the larger might be worn round the neck on a gold chain. The illustrations to Mr. Whitehead's paper give all the known varieties of these extraordinary portrait-coins including the "Bacchanalian" one, where Jahāngir is represented as holding in his hand a goblet of the much-forbidden wine.

One does not generally look in our *Chronicle* for what dramatic authors call "comic relief". But those in search of it will find some in the very amusing review of modern Spanish numismatic literature by Dr. Hill, which is to appear in the now over-due first number of that periodical. Doctor Julio Cejador has discovered that all the Celtiberian inscriptions on the early coins of Spain can be explained by a good knowledge of the Basque tongue. The coins of

Obulco bear legends which misguided predecessors had taken for the names of magistrates—with type corn-ear. Dr. Cejador reads them as mottoes or ejaculations. Some are explained as reading, "O ripe"; "in the field of a slope or height"; or "terribly black black". Another bears the puzzling statement, "dead fountain of milk"—though it is not quite certain whether this refers to the great herds of kine or to the abundant supply from them having dried up. And the short inscription DETVMO SISIP means, "I have a ripe lentil". Presumably this would be the proud motto of the city, something in the style of ROSA SINE SPINA on a Tudor penny, or NEMO ME IMPVNE LACESSIT on a Scottish merk.

To move on from the Chronicle to more general topics, I may remark that coin-finds have not been particularly interesting this year. The most notable was certainly that of Theodosian bronze near Weymouth, of which I have already spoken, which Mr. Salisbury has skilfully dissected. There was a find of first- and second-century denarii on Muswell Hill, containing nothing of importance, a small deposit of fourteenth-century English pence and another of early seventeenth-century coins at Belfast; and some Tudor and Stuart hoards, with nothing new in them at Egton, and Grigglesstone in Yorkshire, and at Kettering in Northants. More odd, but more modern, was a find of Spanish "onzas de oro" of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries dug up at Branston in Lincolnshire. These enormous pieces look like booty of a privateer—the latest date is 1802—rather than the loot of a soldier of the Peninsular war, for they were all from American mints. The money value was about £75, a considerable sum in the days of the old Napoleonic campaigns.

But the real continuous help which numismatists are giving to history comes at the present time not so much from great hoards, as from the scattered individual coins found at different strata of the excavations going on at such places as Richborough, Alcester, Wroxeter, Caerleon, or Conway. The coins found in each layer of the excavated

town enable us to identify the age at which destruction, temporary or final, took place. A few years ago coins were our only certain data for identification of periods, and they still remain the best, though pottery is now so much better understood than of yore, that good hypotheses can be made from its character when no, or very few, coins appear in the layers of an excavated site. We are gradually obtaining, through patient observation and record, facts as to the latest days of Roman Britain which were wholly inaccessible to our forerunners. Would that I could say the same for Saxon Britain!

I must apologize for the rather cursory summary of the numismatic history of the past year, which I have to present to you. For this there are two causes—the first is that the official record of the year has only been printed in the last few days, and only reached me yesterday (Wednesday) morning. This is one of the consequences of the delay in the publication of the *Chronicle*, of which I have so often complained before. Two whole quarters of the year have passed, and I only received the rough proofs of the proceedings of the session within the last few days. The second is that attempts to construct this address without the base of the official records—to make bricks without straw, as I may call it—have been hampered by the late general election. In May, when I should have been commencing the compilation, I was absolutely destitute of spare time for anything save electioneering. And while I was answering scores of letters from correspondents on such vexed topics as Anti-Vaccination, Vivisection, the New Prayer Book, Birth Control, “Equal pay for equal hours of work”, the Lunacy Laws, Safeguarding, and Tithe, I had no power to record on paper what I remembered of Mr. Mattingly’s, Miss Coate’s, or Mr. Sydenham’s excellent papers, or to recall what interesting specimens of coins, Roman or English, had been exhibited by Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Hall, Mr. Lawrence, or the Treasurer. This address, in short, had to be constructed in the last few days against time and from imperfect data. And so I must apologize for its imperfections—not by any

means entirely due to my own laxity or want of interest in the concerns of the Society.

Mr. Fredk. A. Harrison proposed and Col. H. W. Morrieson seconded a vote of thanks to the President for his address.

The President then announced the result of the ballot for office-bearers for 1929-30 as follows :—

President.

PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., M.A., D.C.L.,
LL.D., F.S.A., F.B.A.

Vice-Presidents.

SIR ARTHUR J. EVANS, M.A., D.LITT., LL.D., PH.D., F.R.S.,
F.S.A., F.B.A.

GEORGE F. HILL, Esq., C.B., M.A., D.LITT., LL.D., F.S.A.,
F.B.A.

Treasurer.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E.

Secretaries.

JOHN ALLAN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.

Foreign Secretary.

LADY EVANS, M.A. (Oxon).

Librarian.

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., M.B.E.

Members of the Council.

GEORGE C. BROOKE, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.

HENRY GARSIDE, Esq.

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REV. E. A. SYDENHAM, M.A.

FREDERICK A. WALTERS, Esq., F.S.A.

H. NELSON WRIGHT, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).

The President having proposed a vote of thanks to the auditors and scrutineers, adjourned the Society till Oct. 17.

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